SUBJECT

Non-aggression treaty between Turkey and Iraq.

DATE

10/6/33—

CASE NUMBER

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION

4/4/58

Mrs. Milar:

File # 767.90G12/52 contains the copy of the Saadabad treaty

dtg

JACKET No. 1

Please do not disarrange or remove papers from this jacket or deface jacket with office stamp or notations.

1—1285 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1956

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 891.9111/339 FOR #1547

FROM Persia (Hart) DATED Oct.6, 1933

TO NAME

1—1127

REGARDING:

Non-aggression pact between Turkey and Iraq.

Press comment on the necessity for a -.

767.90G12 NON-AGGRESSION/1

NE
FD

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

1—1336

FROM

AU

GRAY

Baghdad

Dated October 4, 1935

Rec'd 9:10 a.m.

File

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
OCT 4 - 1935
X DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

Secretary of State

Washington

767.90g 12 Non Aggression

26, October 4, 10 a.m.

Note

Officially announced today agreement reached at Geneva to negotiate non-aggression pact between Iraq, Turkey and Iran with Afghanistan to adhere thereto and treaty of arbitration between Iraq and Iran.

KNABENSHUE

HPD

TREATY DIVISION
OCT 8 - 1935
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION/2
FILED
OCT 11 1935

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
OCT 28 1935
DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

MP 1—1336

FROM

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone (B)

Moscow

Dated October 27, 1935

Rec'd 6:01 a.m.

DIVISION OF EASTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
OCT 30 1935
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
NOV 6 1935
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Secretary of State,

Washington.

464, October 27, 10 a.m.

In discussing the Treaty of Non-Aggression and Consultation initialed recently in Geneva by Turkey, Iran and Iraq (with regard to which I assume the Department is fully informed) the Iranian Charge d'Affaires last night informed me that the Iranian Foreign Minister now expected to visit Kabul in two or three weeks to attempt to persuade the Shah of Afghanistan to adhere to the Treaty.

BULLITT

WSB

TREATY DIVISION
NOV 1 - 1935
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

NOV 7 1935

767.90G 12/NON-AGGRESSION/3

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Baghdad, November 27, 1935.

No. 556,
Diplomatic

Subject: Non-aggression Pact between Turkey, Iran and Iraq.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

DIVISION OF EASTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
JAN 23 1936
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

TREATY DIVISION
DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS
JAN 27 1936
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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1935 DEC 28 AM 11 16

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JAN 16 1936

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DEC 30 1935
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

DEPT. OF STATE
JAN 20 1936

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JAN 10 1936
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
Foreign Service Administration

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to my telegram No. 26 of October 4, 1935 informing the Department that it had been officially announced by the Iraq Ministry of Foreign Affairs that an agreement had been come to between the delegates of the Turkish, Iranian and Iraqi Governments at Geneva to negotiate a non-aggression pact, to which undoubtedly Afghanistan would also adhere. Since then I have tentatively discussed the matter with some of my colleagues including the British Ambassador and Nuri Pasha, the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

My

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION/4
FILED
JAN 28 1936

My Italian colleague expressed the opinion very emphatically that he could not conceive of the negotiation reaching a successful conclusion. He pointed out that the relations between Russia and Turkey and between Russia and Iran were such that the British Government could not consistently countenance the adherence of Iraq to such a pact.

In discussing the matter with the British Ambassador, I asked him how the Anglo-Iraq treaty could be reconciled with a non-aggression pact between Iraq, Turkey and Iran. His reply was somewhat vague, but in general to the effect that he thought the Anglo-Iraq treaty would prove no obstacle. He added, "However, the Iraqis intend to go on with it".

The Minister for Foreign Affairs informed me that he fully expected the pact to be signed, and that this would take place during the visit this winter of the Iranian delegation to Iraq in connection with the Iraq-Iranian boundary dispute.

It is my own opinion that the Anglo-Iraq treaty should, at least theoretically, prove to be an obstacle to Iraq joining in a non-aggression pact with Turkey and Iran, unless the Iraq Government does so with reservations. The Iraq Government may be willing to undertake, on its own initiative, to pursue no aggressive action against either Turkey or Iran, but it seems that it would be obliged by the terms of the Anglo-Iraq treaty of alliance to side with Great Britain, should the latter become involved in a war either with Turkey or Iran. Consequently, it is in this respect that the Iraq Government would probably be obliged to make reservations when signing the non-aggression

sion pact.

As far as I am aware, there is not at the moment any outstanding dispute which might involve Britain with Turkey, but, on the other hand, it cannot be said that all differences between Britain and Iran are satisfactorily resolved. Certain questions, particularly in connection with the Persian Gulf, are still in abeyance. The Department's 765.84/1725 strictly confidential instruction to me, No. 173 of October 31, 1935, outlining the positions of Italy, Great Britain and the United States with respect to the Kellogg Pact, and the reservations made, particularly by the British, in connection with this pact, indicates very clearly that the British Government is prepared to come to the assistance of the states bordering on the Persian Gulf, which Great Britain is under treaty obligation to defend. It is quite conceivable that in the event of an European War, wherein Great Britain would be involved, the Iranian Government might use the occasion of British distraction elsewhere to seize the territories in or bordering on the Persian Gulf, which she still claims. Consequently, should the British Government find it possible to attempt to resist such Iranian action, the Iraq Government under the Treaty of Alliance would be obliged to side with Great Britain, in spite of the non-aggression pact with Iran.

Further developments in connection with the non-aggression pact will be reported to the Department.

Respectfully yours,

P. Knabenshue.

File No. 710/711

PK/rlh

Copies to Embassies at London and Istanbul, Legation at Teheran.

Despatch No. 556, Diplomatic,
Strictly Confidential, dated Nov. 27, 1935.

Copy for Teheran sent with a Foreign Service Officer en route to the Legation there.

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 649. Teheran, December 13, 1935.

Subject: Saudi Arabia invited to sign Non-aggression Pact.

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION/5

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JAN 9 - 1936
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

TREATY DIVISION
JAN 31 1936
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FILED
FEB 3 - 1936

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
JAN 30 1936
A-C/C

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767.90g12 Non-aggression
767.90F12 Non-aggression
790F.90g12 Non-aggression

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

790H.9115/20

I have the honor to refer to my despatch No. 636 of November 25, 1935 and to report as follows.

In local diplomatic circles it has been disclosed that Ibn Saud has tentatively accepted the proposals which were presented by Turkey and Iraq for the signature by Saudi Arabia of a non-aggression pact similar to the one recently signed between Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan.

Respectfully yours,

Wm H Hornibrook

Wm. H. Hornibrook.

File No. 710-Triplicate.
WHH/PSC

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION/7

SEE 890g.00 General conditions/68 FOR #567

FROM Iraq (Knabenshue) DATED Dec.18, 1935

TO NAME 1—1127 ers

REGARDING: Non-aggression pact to be concluded between Turkey, Iraq and Iran.

Afghan Government has agreed to participate in -.

Wi

I

POLITICAL EVENTS.

AFGHANISTAN ACCEDES TO NON-AGGRESSION PACT.

767.90 g 12 - Non Aggression

A news despatch from Teheran states that the Afghan Government has agreed to participate in the non-aggression pact to be concluded between Turkey, Iraq and Iran. [1]

Comment: Official confirmation of this report is lacking.

TREATY DIVISION
FEB 28 1936
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 675. Teheran, January 2, 1936.

Subject: Non-aggression Pact and Saudi Arabia.

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COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

Copy to Legation at Baghdad

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
FEB 6 - 1936
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
FEB 7 1936
A-C/C
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
OF STATE

Copy transmitted by the
Commercial Office (A-C/C)
to Baghdad
2/8/36

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D. C.

Sir:

767.909/12 Non-Aggression/5

FILED
1936

I have the honor to refer to my despatch No. 649 of December 13, 1935 and to report as follows.

On the occasion of a New Year's call by the British Minister at the American Legation, the proposed non-aggression pact between Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan and Saudi Arabia was mentioned and the reaction of the British Minister to the proposed participation of Saudi Arabia may be of interest to the Department.

The Minister dismissed the recent reports of treaty

proposals

767.909 12 NON-AGGRESSION/8

proposals by Iraq to Saudi Arabia as of no importance. He asserted that his Government has no interest in the proposed non-aggression pacts; intimated very plainly that Great Britain was not particularly interested in the consummation of the same, or in the failure of the respective governments to reach an accord, and then expressed the very definite opinion that Saudi Arabia would not be inclined to adhere to a pact of that character.

Respectfully yours,

Wm. H. Hornibrook.

File No. 710-Triplicate.
WHH/PSC

February 18 1936

Dear Howland:

We have received a number of brief reports from scattered sources within the past few months regarding the Non-Aggression Pact initialled at Geneva last October by representatives of Iran, Iraq and Turkey, to which it is understood that Afghanistan has also signified its intention to adhere. So far, however, we have received very little analytical comment on the subject.

The obvious conclusion would be that this is just one more step in the promotion of regional pacts under the aegis of Turkey. Is this the base, or is there more behind the Pact than is apparent at first glance? I should appreciate receiving any observations which you may have to make in this connection.

Sincerely yours,

Wallace Murray

G. Howland Shaw, Esquire,

American Chargé d'Affaires ad interim,

Istanbul.

NE RAH/LVD

FEB 15 1936

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION/9

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 891.9111/397 FOR #699

FROM Iran (Hornibrook) DATED Jan. 23, 1936
TO NAME

1—1127

REGARDING: Four partite pact between Iran, Turkey, Iraq and Afghanistan.
Press comment on the proposed - which has been tentatively signed.

lec

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION/ 10 16

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 790g.9115/88 FOR Letter

FROM Iraq (Knabenshue) DATED March 5, 1936.
TO NAME 1—1127

REGARDING:

Non-Aggression Pact between Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Afghanistan will be held up until Iraq and Iran conclude their present boundary negotiations.

h

767.90G12-NON-AGGRESSION/11

767.90g12 - Non-Aggression

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

RR

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone (A)

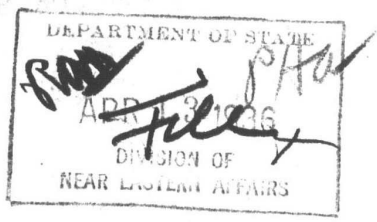
FROM Baghdad

Dated April 14, 1936.

Received 9:10 a. m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.



9, April 14, noon.

It is rumored in diplomatic circles that Turkey is pressing for early signature at Baghdad of Near East non-aggression pact and that the immediate impelling reason therefor arises from Turkey's demands re Dardanelles.

RR

KNABENSHUE

note
767.68119

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION/12

FILED
APR 13 1936

5/2

WSM

While you were away
I asked Ray to prepare a
memo. on the Middle Eastern
part, concerning which I was
most hazy. attached is
the memo in question which,
I think, might be sent to
Tehran, Baghdad, Islamabad &
Moscow for the information
& comment of the respective
chiefs of mission. Ben

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

PHA

Will you please explain to WSM how this happened & be written?

Ross

MAY 13 1936
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

1936 MAY 7 PM 1 55

April 20, 1936

DIVISION OF
AND

NEAR EASTERN NON-AGGRESSION PACT

The genesis of the Non-Aggression Pact initialed at Geneva last October by representatives of Turkey, Iraq and Iran, to which Afghanistan subsequently signified its intention to adhere, may be traced back to 1921 when a series of five bilateral pacts was concluded linking Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan with Soviet Russia. The only agreement lacking in this series was one between Turkey and Iran.

In 1925-28 a second series of bilateral neutrality and non-aggression treaties was concluded between the same four governments. This time the system of agreements was complete.

It is interesting to note in this connection that whereas the treaties of 1921 were due exclusively to Soviet inspiration, the second series was characterized by a certain display of independence on the part of Turkey, Afghanistan and Iran. Thus, whereas four of the five treaties of the first series were signed in Moscow, only one of the last series of six was signed in the Soviet capital. Furthermore it is significant to observe that special protocols providing for a greater measure of solidarity were annexed to the Turco-Iranian and Irano-Afghan treaties of the second series which were not included in the treaties to which the Soviet Government was a signatory.

Since

767.90G12 NON-AGGRESSION/13
FILED
MAY 14 1936

Since 1928 this tendency of Turkey, Afghanistan and Iran to draw closer together has steadily developed, a movement in which Iraq joined after its assumption of independence. A corollary to this movement has been the gradual lessening of Soviet influence in the Islamic countries in question to the benefit of Turkey.

This gradual drawing together of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan has given rise at times to expressions of hope that some sort of agreement might be reached emblematic of their mutual interests and on September 7, 1933 a definite proposal in that direction was made by the Al-Akha newspaper of Baghdad when it ran the following article entitled "Reciprocal Needs of Iraq, Persia and Turkey":

> "One of the important questions which must these days be given the highest attention is the pressing necessity of concluding a treaty of non-aggression between Iraq and her two great neighbors, Persia and Turkey.
>
> This is not a crying need of Iraq only, but also one that has been felt by Persia and Turkey alike. There exist between these three Governments common interests and ends, neighborly and religious relations and special circumstances which render the consummation of such a treaty quite natural and its enforcement more essential.
>
> The unparalleled receptions accorded the late King Faisal in Persia and Turkey reflect like a shining mirror the strong desire entertained by the three friendly neighbors to strengthen and extend their cordial relations. We consider it the

duty

duty of the press of the three countries to discuss the question. In this we are pleased to take the lead."

The moment for suggesting such a plan, however, proved to be inauspicious because of a series of disputes which arose between the prospective negotiators, particularly boundary troubles between Iran and its eastern and western neighbors. Relations gradually improved, however, with the visit of the Shah to Turkey, Turkish arbitration of the Afghan-Iranian boundary dispute, the decision of Iran and Iraq to settle their dispute directly and amicably, etc. Out of this cooperative movement developed the Non-Aggression Pact of last October.

Although the general background of this Pact, as outlined above, seems clear, reports regarding its immediate origin and purport have been both vague and fragmentary. By piecing together reports from various sources, however, the following is obtained.

701.6190H/2 C.F.

On February 8, 1936 the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim at Moscow reported a conversation with the Afghan Ambassador in which the latter stated that the original proposal for such a pact had come from King Feisal and that he had pressed the matter on the occasion of his visit to Teheran in 1932. Although nothing definite had materialized at the time, the Iranian

Government

Government had been interested and it was Kazemi, the then Iranian Minister of Foreign Affairs, said the Ambassador, who had been primarily responsible for the recent initialling of the Pact at Geneva.

Another version of this story, however, has it that Turkey rather than Iran was particularly responsible for the Pact. This was brought out in a despatch from the Embassy at Istanbul on February 3, 1936 767.90H/9 and a similar impression was also given by the Turkish Ambassador at Washington in a conversation with the Chief of the Near Eastern Division several months ago. The Ambassador added that the specific occasion which had given rise to the Pact was the visit of the Shah of Iran to Turkey in 1934.

As regards the contents of the Pact the Afghan Ambassador at Moscow in his conversation with the Chargé d'Affaires, referred to above, stated that, although the four countries would be obligated to refrain from making war on the other signatories and to consult one another in certain matters relating to foreign policy, they would nevertheless maintain complete independence of action with reference to foreign policy as a whole. He added that Afghanistan had hitherto maintained its independence by refusing to become involved

in

in entangling alliances and that it proposed to adhere to that principle.

This enunciation of Afghan policy was corroborated by the Afghan Minister of Foreign Affairs in a conversation with Ambassador Bullitt in Moscow on March 14 (711.90H/63) when he stated that Afghanistan was prepared to adhere to the Pact in the form proposed but that it opposed the inclusion therein of provisions for mutual assistance. He did not indicate, however, who had been responsible for such proposals.

As regards outside powers interested in the Pact, it seems to be generally agreed that the Soviet Government is well disposed to the idea. Great Britain's reaction on the other hand seems lukewarm. Thus, the British Minister in Teheran advised our Minister that Great Britain had no interest either in the success or failure of the Pact. Similarly the British Ambassador in Baghdad, when questioned by Mr. Knabenshue, was reported to have professed disinterestedness in the Pact despite the fact that it would apparently be in conflict, theoretically at least, with the Anglo-Iraq Treaty of Alliance. The Chargé d'Affaires at Ankara reported the Afghan Foreign Minister as saying that the British attitude toward the Pact was uncertain.

In

In conclusion, reference is made to various vague reports which have come in regarding the possible inclusion of certain Arab States other than Iraq in the Pact. As far as can be determined these reports are erroneous, and probably result from confusing Pact negotiations with Treaty negotiations between Iraq and Saudi Arabia which were being conducted simultaneously at Baghdad. This latter Treaty, it may be observed, has recently been signed. Details regarding it are lacking as yet but certain reports received would indicate that it may be intended to serve as the nucleus for a union of Arab States under British aegis, a grouping which would seemingly have nothing in common with the Non-Aggression Pact except the adherence to both of Iraq.

NE RAH/LVD

No. 206

May 7 1936

767.909 12 NON-AGGRESSION/14

To the American Minister Resident and Consul General,
Baghdad.

The Secretary of State transmits a copy of a memorandum prepared in the Division of Near Eastern Affairs summarizing such information as is available in the files of the Department on the Non-Aggression Pact initialled at Geneva last October by Turkey, Iraq and Iran, to which Afghanistan subsequently signified its intention to become a party. The Department would be pleased to receive any comments which the Minister Resident and Consul General may make on this subject.

Enclosure:
Memorandum on the Near
Eastern Non-Aggression Pact,
dated April 20, 1936.

NE RAH/LVD

MAY 6 1936

May 7 1936

No. 216

767.900 12 NON-AGGRESSION/15

To the American Chargé d'Affaires ad interim,

Teheran.

The Secretary of State transmits a copy of a memorandum prepared in the Division of Near Eastern Affairs summarizing such information as is available in the files of the Department on the Non-Aggression Pact initialled at Geneva last October by Turkey, Iraq and Iran, to which Afghanistan subsequently signified its intention to become a party. The Department would be pleased to receive any comments which the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim may make on this subject.

Enclosure:
Memorandum on the Near Eastern Non-Aggression Pact, dated April 20, 1936.

NE RAH/LVD

MAY 6 1936.

No. 23

May 7 1936

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION/16

To the American Ambassador,

Istanbul.

The Secretary of State transmits a copy of a memorandum prepared in the Division of Near Eastern Affairs summarizing such information as is available in the files of the Department on the Non-Aggression Pact initialled at Geneva last October by Turkey, Iraq and Iran, to which Afghanistan subsequently signified its intention to become a party. The Department would be pleased to receive any comments which the Ambassador may make on this subject.

Enclosure:
Memorandum on the Near Eastern Non-Aggression Pact, dated April 20, 1936.

NE RAH/LVD

MAY 6 1936.

A true copy of the signed original.

No. 704

May 7 1936

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION/17

To the American Ambassador,

Moscow.

The Secretary of State transmits a copy of a memorandum prepared in the Division of Near Eastern Affairs summarizing such information as is available in the files of the Department on the Non-Aggression Pact initialled at Geneva last October by Turkey, Iraq and Iran, to which Afghanistan subsequently signified its intention to become a party. The Department would be pleased to receive any comments which the Ambassador may make on this subject.

Enclosure:
Memorandum on the Near Eastern Non-Aggression Pact, dated April 20, 1936.

NE RAH/LVD

MAY 6 1936.

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Baghdad, Iraq, April 15, 1936.

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TD

DIVISION OF WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
JUN 2 1936
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

NO. 613 - Diplomatic

Subject: Near Eastern Non-Aggression Pact -- Turkey's Desire for Immediate Signing.

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION/18

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" " Teheran

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MAY 29
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

MAY 29 1936

File

MAY 15 1936
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

TREATY DIVISION
ETC file
JUN 8 - 1936
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The Honorable

The Secretary of State

Washington, D.C.

Sir:

767.90G 12 Non-aggression/12

FILED
JUN 9 - 1936

I have the honor to refer to my telegram of yesterday informing the department that a rumor is circulating in official and diplomatic circles to the effect that the Turkish Government is desirous of securing the immediate signing of the Near Eastern Non-Aggression Pact between Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan.

It is believed that Turkey's impelling motive in the hasty conclusion of this pact is involved in

12

her

her recently declared desire to fortify the Dardanelles. It is said that Turkey prefers to have the treaty signed at Baghdad instead of Teheran, which is the wish of the Iranian Government. It is believed that the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs will shortly visit Baghdad to sign the pact. One of the reasons given for the delay, up to the present time, in the final signing of the pact, was the desire of the Iraq Government to settle its present controversy with the Iranian Government. However it is believed that the Turkish Government is pressing for the immediate signature of the pact instead of waiting for the settlement of the Iraqi-Iranian dispute.

In this latter connection, it seems that the negotiations between the Iraqi and Iranian Governments, while still proceeding, are more or less held up pending the arrival at Baghdad of a new Persian Minister to replace Inayatullah Sami'y Khan who recently left Baghdad to become Iranian Minister of Foreign Affairs. I gather from the information I have been able to secure that an agreement has been reached to the effect that a strip of water four miles long at Abadan and embracing one quarter of the width of the Shatt-al-'Arab shall be ceded to Iran, thus affording a port with sufficient anchorage definitely in Persian territory. It is said that the object of this is to permit the Iranian Government to collect harbor dues on oil steamers at that port instead of permitting the payment of such dues to the Iraq Government as heretofore. However, the difficulty which seems to be confronting the negotiators is the composition of the International Commission to be appointed to administer the Shatt-al-'Arab.

790B.91/15
790B.91/156
890B.01

The British

The British Government, it is said, is insisting upon a British subject as chairman of the commission, with Colonel Ward, the present Basrah Port Director, as an additional member of the commission, who would act as the Iraqi representative. One Iranian commissioner would also be appointed, making a total of three with a British majority. It is said that both the Iraqis and the Iranians are indignant at the British proposal, for it would, in effect, allow the British to dominate this important strategic position.

It is also said that the Iranians are demanding a share of the surplus revenue arising out of the administration of the Shatt-al-'Arab, instead of permitting this entire surplus to go to the Iraq Government as heretofore. It also seems that it is the desire of the Iranian Government to bring about a reduction of the navigation fees.

The Polish Minister to Iran, who is also accredited to Iraq, seems to favor the Iranian Government in the controversy. He remarked to me that Persia has no suitable port for its northern provinces. He claims the anchorage at Bushire is too far out and that it is impossible to create a suitable anchorage at Bandar Shahpur because of the rocky bottom which cannot be dredged. Consequently, he favors the Persian desire for a port on the Shatt-al-'Arab and an equal share in its administration.

Respectfully yours,

P. Knabenshue

P. Knabenshue

2 Carbon Copies
Received ---- K.F.C.
LEC

PK/JSM

File No. 500/711

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 890b.00/138 FOR #-

FROM Iraq (Knabenshue) DATED April 28,1936

TO NAME 1—1127

REGARDING: Non-aggression pact between Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan. The adherence of Iraq to the - and probable adherence of Iraq to the pact of Arab unity may cause Iran some embarrassment.

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION/19

lec

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 790g.9115/93 FOR letter #-

FROM Iraq (Knabenshue) DATED April 16,1936

TO NAME 1—1127

REGARDING: Near Eastern Non-Aggression Pact.
Believes the recall of the Iranian delegation to Baghdad, which was negotiating a boundary dispute, was due to dissatisfaction of Iran and Turkey to the Treaty of Arab Brotherhood which sets up a political cross-current to the --.

lec

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION/ 20 2-0

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DIVISION OF WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
JUL 21 1936
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

No. 1643. Moscow, June 10, 1936.

Subject: The Near Eastern Non-Aggression Pact.

DIVISION OF EASTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
JUL 21 1936
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUL 6 1936
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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To Istanbul
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7/17/36

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+ Legations at Baghdad + Teheran

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The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

JUL 18 1936

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION/21

767.90G12 nonaggression/17

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
A-C/C
JUL 17 1936
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

Sir

With reference to the Department's Instruction No. 704 of May 7, 1936, enclosing a memorandum on the Near Eastern Non-Aggression Pact, dated April 20, 1936, I have the honor to report that Mr. Saed, the Persian Chargé d'Affaires at Moscow, who has just returned from a visit to Teheran, told me last night that the formal signing of the Pact is being delayed pending the settlement of certain boundary questions between

FILED
APR 13 1938

Iraq

TREATY DIVISION
JUL 23 1936
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Iraq and Iran. The settling of these questions, which is in progress, he said, would remove all possibility of territorial disputes among the four Powers concerned.

With regard to the origin of the Pact, Mr. Saed said that the idea was first suggested to the Persian Government by King Feisal at the time of the latter's visit to Teheran in 1932. The Persian Government considered the suggestion favorably and dicussed it with both Turkey and Afghanistan. As the threat of an outbreak of a great European war, if not a world war, became greater, the Iranian Foreign Office became more active in pressing the idea of such an agreement. It was of the opinion that the signing of a Non-Aggression Pact by Afghanistan, Iraq, Turkey, and Iran, would tend to prevent these countries from becoming suspicious of each other in the event of an outbreak of hostilities in Europe and would make it more difficult for them to be used against one another as tools of great warring powers.

Mr. Saed stated that the Soviet Union was not particularly sympathetic at first to the idea of the Pact since it preferred to be the center of any collective security system established among its neighbors of the Near East. However, it was more favorably disposed after it had become convinced that the sole purpose of the Pact was to guarantee peace in Central Asia. The Soviet Government had so many anxieties with respect to its European and Far Eastern frontiers that it was inclined at this time to welcome any move

in the

in the direction of promoting peace along its borders in the Near East.

Respectfully yours,

Loy W. Henderson

Loy W. Henderson,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

1 copy to file

X

File No. 710

In Quintuplicate to Department.

LWH:bpg

Copy to RIGA

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Istanbul, Turkey, June 18, 1936.

No. 50

SUBJECT: Non-Aggression Pact between Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan.

Copy Transmitted by The Commercial Office (A-C/C) Baghdad

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JUL 17 1936

CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF STATE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE JUL 17 1936

DIVISION OF WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS JUL 20 1936 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS JUL 8 1936 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

767.90G12 NON-AGGRESSION/22

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Department's instruction No. 23 of May 7, 1936, transmitting a copy of a memorandum prepared in the Division of Near Eastern Affairs summarizing such information as was available in the files of the Department on the Non-Aggression Pact initialed at Geneva last October by Turkey, Iraq and Iran, to which Afghanistan subsequently signified its intention to become a party, and expressing the Department's desire to receive any comments which might be made from this Embassy on the subject.

Inquiries made at Ankara indicate that the delay in the signing of the Non-Aggression Pact has been caused by

TREATY DIVISION DEPARTMENT OF STATE JUL 24 1936

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A-C/C AUG 28 1936 ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

APR 3 1938 FILED

by the controversy between Iran and Iraq over the Shatt-al-Arab frontier, as was stated in the memorandum from the Department. The Secretary-General of the Turkish Ministry for Foreign Affairs stated, however, to Mr. Shaw, Counselor of Embassy, that though Turkey is certainly interested in this pact as an important development of her policy of pacification eastwards as well as westwards, yet it is not a matter which is causing the Turkish Government any concern. He was quite clear about this point and added that with her considerable coastline on the Mediterranean Turkey is now far more interested in what is going on in Europe than in any developments in the middle east.

In conversation with Mr. Shaw the Afghan Ambassador to Turkey, after referring to the delay in signing the Pact on account of the boundary dispute between Iran and Iraq, described the treaty as containing provisions for non-aggression and arbitration. In response to an inquiry he denied that there was any clause regarding mutual assistance among the signatories, pointing out that it would be quite preposterous for Afghanistan to commit itself to assist a country so situated as Turkey. He said that the Afghans still had a small difference with Iran over certain water rights along a part of the frontier but that their great difficulty over the frontier had been settled a few years ago by the decision of the Turkish General Fahreddin, and that boundary marks have been installed in accordance with that decision. He said that the Afghan foreign policy was essentially one of balancing the U.S.S.R. against Great Britain with present inclinations toward the latter.

790H.00

In view of the above statements made to Mr. Shaw, it

it would seem that there is little basis for the report that Turkey is desirous of obtaining immediate action on this pact.

Respectfully yours,

J. V. A. MacMURRAY.

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SWW:mej

Istanbul, Turkey, June 18, 1936.

No.50

SUBJECT: Non-Aggression Pact between Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan.

SECRET CONVERSATION

CONFIDENTIAL

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Department's instruction No. 28 of May 7, 1936, transmitting a copy of a memorandum prepared in the Division of Near Eastern Affairs summarizing such information as was available in the files of the Department on the Non-Aggression Pact initialed at Geneva last October by Turkey, Iraq and Iran, to which Afghanistan subsequently signified its intention to become a party, and expressing the Department's desire to receive any comments which might be made from this Embassy on the subject.

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Respectfully yours,

J. V. A. MacMURRAY.

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OF THE SIGNED
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767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION/23

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Baghdad, June 25, 1936

No. 655- Diplomatic

Subject: Near East Non-Aggression Pact

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
SEP 4 1936
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
SEP 1 - 1936
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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AM 11 37 AUG 19 1936
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Istanbul 8/29/36

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUL 23 1936
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

The Honorable

The Secretary of State

Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Department's instruction No. 206 of May 7, 1936, with which was enclosed a memorandum summarizing such information as was available in the files of the Department on the Non-Aggression Pact initialled at Geneva last October by Turkey, Iraq and Iran, to which Afghanistan subsequently signified its intention to become a party.

In response to the Department's further instruction, I have the honor to make the following comments:

It is noted that the memorandum did not include an item which I had communicated informally to the Department through the Chief of the Near East Division; namely, that I had been informed by Major Edmonds, the British Adviser to the Iraqi Ministry of Interior, and at that

time

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APR 13 1938

was Adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that the proposed non-aggression pact included a provision that, should any one of the signatories to the pact become involved with a country not a signatory to the pact, then the said pact would become inoperative. Thus the pact would seem to be merely a non-aggression pact as between the signatories and not a mutual assistance pact in respect to outside aggression, either by or against one of the signatories. It is also my understanding that the pact makes a provision for the signatories in all circumstances to abide by its obligations under the covenant of the League of Nations.

Consequently, and for example, if the British Government were to be drawn into a war with Persia, the Iraqi Government would be freed from the terms of the non-aggression pact, and at the same time would be obliged to join with the British by virtue of its treaty of alliance with Great Britain.

During my conversation with General Nuri as-Said on June 22, 1936, he again told me that the non-aggression pact was ready for signature and that he was awaiting the conclusion of the negotiations or settlement of outstanding differences between Iraq and Iran. However, he expressed the belief that these latter negotiations would be concluded within the next six or eight weeks. In this connection he said that the differences are not great; that the difficulty in concluding the negotiations lies in the fact that the Iranian Minister here and the Iranian officials of the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs seem fearful of taking any responsibility in the matter of accepting specific proposals. Consequently, he (Nuri) has proposed to the Iranian

890f. 911.5

Minister in Baghdad that he (Nuri) submit several specific alternatives to bring about a settlement, for transmission to the Shah for consideration and final instructions. This proposal has been accepted by the Iranian Minister, and they both believe that an early settlement will be reached. This was more or less confirmed by the Iranian Minister when he informed me that he would be unable to go on leave from Baghdad this summer until negotiations with the Iraqi Government are concluded. He said that he hoped to get away before the end of the summer.

Respectfully yours,

P. Knabenshue

PK:MH

File No. 710

Baghdad, June 25, 1936

No. 655- Diplomatic

Subject: Near East Non-Aggression Pact

The Honorable

The Secretary of State

Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Department's instruction No. 206 of May 7, 1936, with which was enclosed a memorandum summarizing such information as was available in the files of the Department on the Non-Aggression Pact initialled at Geneva last October by Turkey, Iraq and Iran, to which Afghanistan subsequently signified its intention to become a party.

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Respectfully yours,

P. Knabenshue

PK:MH

File No. 710

A true copy of the signed original. MH

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DIVISION OF WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
SEP 8 - 1936
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

No. 859. Teheran, July 24, 1936.

Subject: Effect of the Signing of the Treaty of Arab Brotherhood upon the Proposed Non-Aggression Pact and the Iran-Iraq Boundary Negotiations.

Copy Transmitted by the Commercial Office (A-C/C) To Baghdad 5/29/36

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767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION/24

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
AUG 25 1936
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

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APR 13 1938

767.90g12 non-aggression

Sir:

With reference to the Department's instruction No. 216 of May 7, 1936 and the copy of the valuable study which was enclosed therewith, and to a letter of the Chief of the Division of Near Eastern Affairs, I have the honor to submit the following brief comment of a Secretary of the Turkish Embassy at Teheran with respect to the signing of the Treaty of Arab Brotherhood between Iraq and Saudi Arabia, the prospects for

the

note 7919.9115

the signing of the Non-Aggression Pact between Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan, and the withdrawal of the Iranian delegation from Iraq following the interruption of the Iran-Iraq boundary negotiations.

According to my informant, the recall of the Iranian delegation from Iraq was unconnected with the signing of the Treaty of Arab Brotherhood, but occurred for reasons confined to the boundary negotiations themselves.

790F.90g/11

On the other hand, progress on the Non-Aggression Pact was definitely held up due to the signing by Iraq of the treaty with Saudi Arabia. The other parties interested, particularly Turkey and Iran, apparently felt somewhat annoyed that Iraq should have made a gesture of friendship to the south when the motion of such a gesture was already beginning to be described in the north. There is a definite hope, however, that the Non-Aggression Pact will become definitive during the course of the coming winter.

It seems doubtful to the writer, however, whether the Pact can be concluded prior to the settlement of the Iraqi-Iranian frontier dispute, the continuation of which seems to have caused a good deal of irritation in Iran.

Respectfully yours,

2 [illegible] copies
received

Gordon P. Merriam,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

File No. 715-Triplicate.

GPM/PSC

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Istanbul, Turkey, September 19, 1936.

No: 115

Subject: Statements made to the CUMHURIYET by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq.

767.90Q 12 NON-AGGRESSION/25
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
OCT 7 1936
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

CONFIDENTIAL

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D.C.

767.
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
A-C/C
OCT 8 1936
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE.

Sir:

I enclose a translation of statements recently made to the Turkish newspaper CUMHURIYET by Nuri Paşa El Sait, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq. The first part, it will be noted, deals with the Turkish-Iranian-Iraqui-Afghan Pact of Non-Aggression in which the Department has from time to time expressed interest. Nuri Paşa's remarks appear to forecast an early signature of the Pact. It is entirely possible that in Iran and Iraq, and perhaps also in Afghanistan, a good deal of importance is attached to the Pact. In Turkey, however, I have the impression that it is looked upon, with approval certainly, but without any very great enthusiasm. This is unquestionably due to the fact that

Turkish

Turkish statesmen are very deeply concerned over the present ominous situation of Europe. In comparison with the danger of a European war, particularly a war involving the U. S. S. R., everything else sinks into relative insignificance.

Respectfully yours,

J. V. A. MacMURRAY

Enclosure:

1. Translation of Interview given to the CUMHURIYET by Iraqui Minister for Foreign Affairs.

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Copy sent to Amlegation, Bagdad.

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GHS:er

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 115
of September 19, 1936, from the Embassy at Istanbul.

TRANSLATION

SOURCE: CUMHURIYET (Republic) September 13, 1936, Istanbul.

INTERVIEW GRANTED TO THE TURKISH PRESS
BY NURI PAŞA EL SAIT
IRAQUI MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

-What is the status of the new pact, what is its nature, and what is expected of this pact in the future?

-Its nature is that of a pact of non-aggression. According to this pact all differences arising between the four states shall be settled by arbitration; since the pact provides for various forms of arbitration there will remain no difference which may not be settled by this method. The pact is ready for signature. It was Tevfik Rüştü Aras who first suggested the idea of this pact. The pact was concluded at first between Turkey-Iraq and Iran; Afghanistan adhered thereto only later, during the negotiations. The pact is still open for adherence by other nations who are closely related with us. However, the consent of the signatories is required for such applications for adherence. It is most natural that the pact will be confirmed by Geneva. As far as international repercussions are concerned, since this pact is not directed against any country, it is obvious that it will be favorably received.

-What is the status of the questions between Iran and Iraq?

-I proceeded last year to Iran and thanks to the intervention of His Majesty the Shah we settled the frontier question. As a matter of fact, this was the most important problem. There still remain some queations of detail -- such as the convention for navigation on the Shatel-Arab, and the residence and commercial treaties, but I hope that all of these questions will be settled very shortly. As a principle, complete confidence reigns between the two countries.

-What is the nature of the alliance concluded between Iraq and Arabia of Ibn-Saoud?

-I intend to go this coming winter to Riyat, in order to exchange a treaty of alliance. A provision has been

been included in that treaty relative to the entry of Yemen to this alliance. This treaty does not constitute an alliance directed against any states, but has been concluded merely with a view to preventing an aggression. Its principal articles have been inspired by the Covenant of the League of Nations.

-In your opinion, has the League of Nations in its present status been strengthened or weakened?

-An answer to this question seems to be rather difficult, although nothing can be said as yet. The weak points of the League of Nations have been disclosed. It is everybody's task to strengthen these weak points. If the League of Nations is not kept alive there will be no other institution which can replace it as far as general peace is concerned. It is apparent that there exists no other method for peace but the maintenance of the League of Nations, and therefore everybody endeavors to render this institution more perfect. In fact, this question will be discussed at the meeting of the Assembly and endeavors will be made to strengthen the League. The principal defect from which the League of Nations suffers is the fact that the idea of faithful adherence to the spirit of the Covenant has not fully taken root as yet. In the past every country was only concerned about its own interests. Following the formation of the League of Nations it was necessary to combine these interests with those of the League. It is obvious that difficulties will arise if public opinion is not prepared in advance accordingly. For example, although the various elements constituting the British Empire proceed independently in their actions they nevertheless remain within the confines of the interests of the Empire and thus harmony continues to prevail among them. The League of Nations ought to work along this example. The Covenant of the League of Nations the reform of which is now being contemplated may be a wonderful pact, but endeavors must be made to adjust the means of its particular application to the conditions prevailing at the present. As a result, in order to prepare an efficient pact, the pact must be fully assimilated and publib opinion prepared to support it.

500.C

-What are the results of your endeavors to intervene in the difficulties in Palestine for the purpose of finding a means of solution?

-The racial affinities between the Iraqui and the Arab population of Palestine are very close, but Iraq is at the same time a friend and ally of Great Britain. For these two reasons we have endeavored to bring about an understanding but under the present conditions the task of the mediators is so difficult and delicate that it can be accomplished only with the help of time. Although I fully realize the difficulties, I have not given

867N.00

given up hope and I earnestly believe that the result will be a satisfactory one. I also hope that the justified and reasonable complaints of the Arab population of Palestine will be taken into consideration. It is difficult to realize the nature of these complaints because Great Britain has decided to send to Palestine a committee of experts. This committee is going to examine the situation and present its report to the British Government. The British Government is going to reach a decision accordingly. The situation has assumed a more or less normal aspect. I believe that the committee will be able to begin its work toward the end of October. However, in order to prevent an aggravation of the situation Great Britain is despatching armed forces. I believe that the object of this expedition is of a merely preventive nature and that it is not aiming at either of the parties involved. As regards the question of mediation: I have personally examined the situation in Palestine. I interviewed the High Commissioner and made an investigation of the general situation. I communicated my ideas to both parties. Should they be accepted I will make them public but we are still in a state of negotiations. The Government of Great Britain has advanced the point that in its opinion and as mandatory state it is bound by certain obligations toward the League of Nations, and that the creation of a Jewish home in Palestine constitutes one of its obligations. The new committee of investigation will determine the extent of Jewish immigration to Palestine, that is to say determine the number of Jews who have immigrated from abroad to Palestine. If this exceeds the economic possibilities of Palestine and has assumed a nature affecting the political and civil rights of the Arab element it will take measures accordingly. It may also arrive at the conclusion that the obligations assumed toward the League of Nations have been carried out and consequently have ceased to be operative. There are certain radical Jewish immigrants who have especially come from the Orient and who have made utterances and engaged in actions which have seriously offended the Arab element. According to the contention of the Jewish element Palestine was originally a Jewish home and therefore they wish to see all of Palestine made into a Jewish home. However, according to the Arabs the situation is not thus. There is not a single Arab in Palestine or abroad who will tolerate Palestine becoming entirely a Jewish home.

-How are the relations between Iraq and Turkey?

-The Turkish-Iraqui relations can be compared to those of two loving brothers and I am sure that the relations between the statesmen of these two countries are as cordial as the relations of the countries in general. Not only I personally but all statesmen in office in Iraq are imbued with the same sentiments of cordiality. The two countries are sister-countries and shall for ever remain such.

AN:er

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION /26

SEE 890g.00 General conditions/86 FOR #701

FROM Iraq (Moose) DATED Sept.17, 1936

TO NAME 1—1127 ...

REGARDING: Iraqi Foreign Minister has gone to Turkey to sign the Eastern Pact between Turkey, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Iran, and to invite Turkey to accede to the Treaty of Alliance between Iraq and Saudi Arabia.

Wi

He is the guest of the Charge' d'affaires of Saudi Arabia.

--Al-Inba, September 5, 1936.

RETURN OF THE PRIME MINISTER FROM HIS TRIP TO THE SOUTH

The Prime Minister returned to Baghdad yesterday after having visited Kut, Amarah, Muntafik and Basrah Liwas.

--Al-Istiklal, September 7, 1936.

Comment: On September 15, 1936, the Prime Minister set out to inspect the northern Liwas of Iraq.

TASK OF NURI AS-SAID IN TURKEY

News despatches from Turkey report that Said Nuri As-Said, Minister of Foreign Affairs, has met Towfick Rushdi Aras at Istanbul. The despatches further report that His Excellency proceeded to Turkey to sign the Eastern Pact concluded between Turkey, Iraq, Afghanistan and Iran, and to invite Turkey to accede to the Treaty of Alliance between Iraq and Saudi Arabia.

--Al-Istiklal, September 9, 1936.

Comment: No announcement has been made that Iraq and Iran have composed their differences over their common frontier. The allegation that the Arab Treaty of Brotherhood is to be enlarged to take in a non-Arab country is probably erroneous. The last item under this section makes it quite clear what Al-Saiyid Nuri said.

A YEMENITE MINISTER IN BAGHDAD

It is probable that Saiyid Mohamed Zibara will be appointed Yemenite Minister at Baghdad.

--Al-Istiklal, September 9, 1936.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE KINGS CORONATION DAY

The anniversary of the coronation day of His Majesty was celebrated yesterday throughout Iraq. The city was decorated for the occasion. In the morning, Ministers, Senior State Officials and members of the Diplomatic Corps called at the

Royal

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION/27

SEE 790h.91/24 FOR #935

FROM Iran (Merriam) DATED Nov.12, 1936

TO NAME

1—1127 o.r.o.

REGARDING: Visit of Afghan Minister of War to Turkey, Iraq and Iran believed to be for purpose of perfection of the Four Power Non-Aggression Pact.

Wi

Teheran, November 12, 1936.

No. 935

Subject: Visit of the Afghan Minister of War, Sardar Shah Mahmoud Khan, to Teheran.

767.90g Non-aggression

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to report to the Department that the Afghan Minister of War, Sardar Shah Mahmoud Khan, visited Teheran from November 2 to 6, 1936, coming from visits just previously made to Turkey and Iraq.

During his stay, the Iranian Government exerted itself to accord him all honor and hospitality, entirely in keeping with the fact that although His Highness is technically a Cabinet Minister, he is the uncle of the present

present King of Afghanistan and one of the two or three persons who actually govern the country. The pace of hospitality was such that His Highness was compelled to remain in Teheran an extra day in order to have an opportunity to recover from the festivities. The diplomatic corps, which was called upon to lend an air of dignity and brilliance to all of the functions, was pretty well worn out at the end. The reception at the White Palace on the last evening, November 7, was an endurance contest, pure and simple, and found the more advanced in age of the Iranian and foreign Ministers reclining limply upon the few available chairs. But the JOURNAL DE TEHERAN, in describing the affair, obligingly clothed the weakness of the flesh with the strength of the intention and said: "L'entrain était intense." The Dutch Minister, foreseeing what would happen, fled to Mazanderan.

Translations of the speeches exchanged between the Iranian Prime Minister and His Highness, and between the Iranian Foreign Minister and His Highness, are enclosed herewith, together with a sample of the press commentaries.

It is thought that the chief objects of the visit of the Afghan Minister of War to Turkey, Iraq and Iran were to enable him to acquaint himself with conditions therein and, in Iraq and Iran in particular, to urge the perfection of the Four-Power Non-Aggression Pact. He can have done little in Iraq owing to the coup d'état which occurred while he was there. Any other activity in Iran would appear to have been out of the question owing to the strenuous round of visiting and social

activity

activity to which he was subjected, the program of which, including the protocol which may be of minor interest to the Department, is submitted herewith as a further enclosure.

Sardar Shah Mahmoud Khan is a handsome man in the early prime of life. He handles himself well in public, appears intelligent and capable, and is authoritative without being overbearing. He gives the impression of being more sincere and direct than most Iranian officials with whom I have come into contact.

During our conversation, I reminded him that the chief of our Legation was accredited to Kabul as well as to Teheran, and expressed my wish to visit Afghanistan. His Highness expressed the warm hope that I would make the journey, and referred to Mr. Hornibrook's visit to Kabul, adding that he thought Mr. Hornibrook was well content with what he had seen. I replied that I knew of my own knowledge that he had been tremendously interested and well pleased by his journey, whereupon the Minister of War said that I "must" visit his country. I again spoke of my hope that this would be possible, but pointed out that it was out of the question for the time being since I was the only officer on duty at the Legation.

Respectfully yours,

Gordon P. Merriam
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim

File No. 030-In quintuplicate.

GPM/FLG

Enclosures:

A true copy of the signed original.

Enclosures

Enclosures:

1. Speeches exchanged by the Iranian Prime Minister and the Afghan Minister of War at a banquet at Golestan Palace, November 3, 1936.

2. Speeches exchanged by the Iranian Foreign Minister and the Afghan Minister of War at a luncheon at the Iran Club, November 4, 1936.

3. Elaboration of the Four-Power Pact. (Translation from the JOURNAL DE TEHERAN, November 8, 1936.)

4. Program of the Visit of H. E. Sardar Shah Mahmoud Khan, Afghan Minister of War, to Iran, October 31-November 10, 1936.

File No. 030-Ir quintuplicate.

GPM/PLC

Enclosure No. 1 with despatch No. 935 dated November 12, 1936, from the Legation at Teheran.

SPEECHES EXCHANGED BY THE IRANIAN PRIME MINISTER AND THE AFGHAN MINISTER OF WAR AT A BANQUET AT GOLESTAN PALACE, NOVEMBER 3, 1936.

Translation from the JOURNAL DE TEHERAN, November 3, 1936.

The Prime Minister said:

"Highness:

"A striking proof of the sincerity and the friendly and fraternal feelings which exist between the nations of Iran and Afghanistan, is the arrival of Your Highness in Iran and his presence among us.

"Also I am happy, in the name of the Imperial Government and myself personally, to welcome Your Highness by expressing my entire contentment in this respect.

"Apart from neighborly relations, there are many reasons and reciprocal interests which bring together, in a sincere way, the two nations of Iran and Afghanistan. And it is for these reasons that the Iranian Nation and Government have followed with keen interest the progress achieved in Afghanistan during these latter years under the initiative of His late Majesty Mohammad Nader Shah and the enlightened spirit of His Majesty Mohammed Zaher Shah, assisted by the courage of persons with high ideals, particularly H. H. Sadre A'azam and Your Highness, whose actions have been particularly useful in the political life and in the social reforms of the friendly country of Afghanistan.

"This progress and these regular reforms of our neighboring and friendly country have been the best factors for consolidating peace and extending mutual collaboration between the two nations, and one can be certain that under the high aegis of His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah and of His Majesty Mohammad Zaher Shah, this group of purposes will be more and more attained in practical directions.

"A healthy ideal and a frank realism which clearly show forth the essential bases of a fusion between two groups for the consolidation of peace, today exist completely and entirely between Iran and Afghanistan, and the consequences of this favorable atmosphere are visible in every kind of mutual collaboration, and one can certainly obtain the best results as a result of this favorable atmosphere.

"The good relations which have now been created between Iran and Afghanistan as the result of a same policy applied by the leaders of the two countries, become consolidated more and more, especially at a moment when public opinion is disturbed over the international situation, and these relations afford great contentment to the two friendly nations.

"At this

"At this hour, if the nations of the Orient give one another a brotherly hand to maintain the standard of peace and to strengthen the bases of civilization, that is the greatest service they will render to the human group.

"So, it is with these ideas in mind that I now raise my glass to the health of His Majesty Mohammad Zaher Shah, of Your Highness, and to the happiness of the beloved country of Afghanistan."

The Afghan Minister of War replied:

"To His Excellency the President of the Council:

"I am very happy over and I thank Your Excellency for the brotherly declarations which He has just made to me in the name of the Imperial Government and in his personal name, welcoming me to the country of His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah. I add that this visit has always been one of my greatest desires.

"As Your Excellency has just said, Afghanistan and Iran have long-existing and linguistic relations and a racial affinity which bring them together, and for this reason xxx the great progress achieved by the Iranian Nation under the high aegis of His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah and the collaboration of the honorable directors of this friendly country have been welcomed with sincere joy by the Afghan Nation and Government.

"This friendship and this sincerity which so clearly exist between Afghanistan and Iran are the best factors for the consolidation of an atmosphere of peace and the extension of good relations between the two Nations.

"In view of the factors which I have just briefly mentioned, for a long time I have desired to have the honor of an audience with His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah, and to visit the friendly country of Iran. I have had the great pleasure of being able to realize this desire and at the same time I have had the advantage of visiting the two friendly and sister nations, Turkey and Iraq.

"What gives me great hope and true confidence is the tendency of sincere rapprochement which I have been able to observe throughout the Orient, a rapprochement which safeguards world peace and which also strengthens the tranquillity of human groups.

"One must be very happy to note today that the nations of the Orient have given to one another a friendly hand of union, and support one another in safeguarding common interests.

"I hope sincerely and with all my heart that this union will continue, and it is with great pleasure that I raise my glass to the health of His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah, of His Imperial Highness the Crown Prince, of Your Excellency, of the persons present, and to the happiness and prosperity of the noble nation of Iran."

Enclosure No. 2 with despatch No. 935 dated November 12, 1936, from the Legation at Teheran.

SPEECHES EXCHANGED BY THE IRANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER AND THE AFGHAN MINISTER OF WAR AT A LUNCHEON AT THE IRAN CLUB, NOVEMBER 4, 1936.

Translation from the JOURNAL DE TEHERAN, November 6, 1936.

The Foreign Minister said:

"Highness:

"I have truly no need to say how happy we are to have with us today the Minister of War of a neighboring, friendly country.

"We place a high value upon the friendship of our Afghan brothers, and we are certainly very happy at this time to show, near at hand, those feelings which we have had for them at a distance.

"The sympathy and the union of Iran and Afghanistan are natural consequences whose bases are rooted in racial origin, in an identical language, and in neighborly relations.

"The treaty concluded between the two countries in 1306 is in reality a true indication of these natural and historic ties, and not a convention dealing with the temporary solution of fleeting interests. If a few slight frontier differences have existed, these were obvious misunderstandings which exercised no influence over the sympathetic and reciprocal feelings of the two peoples. And thanks to the high views of His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah, to the good intentions of His Majesty the King of Afghanistan and the friendly aid of our Turkish brothers, this difference has been eliminated and our relations pursue their course today on friendly and brotherly principles and facts in an environment of common interests.

"We can, therefore, be completely happy over the presence of Your Highness among us, especially because these conversations, which allow us to become better acquainted with the outstanding personalities of the neighboring and friendly nation, thus prepare a very favorable ground for increasingly vast collaboration in all social fields.

"In our surroundings today, the friendship and collaboration of Iran and Afghanistan are of very great value for the consolidation of peace, and particularly for the peace of this part of the Asiatic continent. These two Governments have already shown, many times, their sincere desire to maintain and to strengthen peace, in addition to the Treaty of Amer 1306 which has to do in particular with the relations between the two countries who have participated in the Treaty of non-aggression.

"We must also be very happy that the Government of Afghanistan has welcomed with great sympathy the invitation of the Imperial Government to participate in the Four-Power Pact.

"Highness

"Highness:

"The Iranian Government and Nation follow the constant progress of Afghanistan with great joy. With respectful sympathy, they esteem the desires of His Majesty Mohammad Zaher Shah and the enlightened spirit of His Government in the progressive achievement of reforms, and every advance in Afghanistan is a joy for us.

"Thus, in these thoughts and to this end, I raise my glass to the health of H. M. the King of Afghanistan and of Your Highness, and to the happiness and prosperity of the noble Afghan Nation."

The Afghan Minister of War replied:

"To His Excellency, Mr. Minister:

"I am very happy over, and I sincerely thank Your Excellency for the brotherly feelings which you have shown towards the Afghan Government and Nation, and for my welcome to the territory of the Imperial Government.

"As Your Excellency has just said, the feelings of brotherly sympathy which have always existed between Iran and Afghanistan since the most ancient times, have their source in an affinity of race and ideals and in the use of the same language. It is for this reason that the Afghan Government and Nation follow with the greatest attention and real joy the progress achieved under the powerful aegis of His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah, a progress which goes on continuously with the same will to success.

"I am particularly happy to find myself today among my dear brothers, among the high personalities of the Imperial Government whom I have always desired to know; I am happy to be able to be the sincere interpreter of the best feelings of the Afghan Government and Nation to the friendly and brotherly country of Iran.

"As to the slight difference over the frontier, I am also happy to say that thanks to the action of His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah, to the good intentions of His late Majesty Mohammad Nader Shah, and to the friendly and sincere intervention of our Turkish brothers, this slight difference has been completely solved to our best common interests.

"I am strongly persuaded that under the aegis of His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah and of His Majesty the King of Afghanistan, and the action of the members of the two Governments, such differences will never arise again.

"As Your Excellency has just said, the friendship and collaboration of Afghanistan and Iran hold an important place in the maintenance of peace, and particularly for peace in this portion of Asia, and for this reason my Government has accepted, in all sincerity, the suggestion of the Imperial Government for the creation of the Four-Power Pact.

"In concluding, I raise my glass to the health of His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah, of His Imperial Highness the Crown Prince, of Your Excellency, to the happiness and prosperity of the whole noble Nation of Iran."

Enclosure No. 3 with despatch No. 935 dated November 12, 1936, from the Legation at Teheran.

ELABORATION OF THE FOUR-POWER PACT.

Translation from the JOURNAL DE TEHERAN, November 8, 1936.

It is with real pleasure and great happiness that we published in our number of Thursday, November 5, a résumé of the important speeches made last Tuesday during the course of a banquet offered by H. E. the Prime Minister to His Highness Sardar Shah Mahmoud Khan, Afghan Minister of War.

The next day H. E. Samii, Foreign Minister, at the luncheon offered in honor of the Afghan mission at the Iran Club, referred in a short address to his complete happiness over the sympathetic reception of the Afghan Government to the invitation of the Imperial Government to participate in the Four-Power Pact.

Replying in this sense, H. H. Sardar Shah Mahmoud, Afghan Minister of War, stated that the friendly collaboration of Iran and Afghanistan holds an important place for general peace, and particularly for Asiatic peace, and for this reason the Afghan Government accepted, in all sincerity, the suggestion of the Imperial Government for the creation of the Four-Power Pact.

As a whole, official circles entirely confirm our point of view concerning the usefulness and the advantages of a four-way understanding to strengthen regional and international peace.

Diplomatic talks and official speeches made by men of the day always have a very delicate phraseology and an enunciation of peaceful principles or, basically, safeguards, and much more often the favoring of individual interests predominates directly or indirectly over the safeguarding of the interests of the group. With us, in the Orient, the men of the day, the persons in power, speak as a whole with great frankness, and these exchanges of views or opinions have the immense advantage of representing a true and sincere emanation of the sentiments which dominate and regulate the general line of conduct of each country.

During the last centuries the Orient - all the Orient - became so weak as to be an amorphous mass exploited by Occidental countries, either materially or morally. Today, under the aegis of their powerful chiefs, Iran and Turkey have reconquered their former place in the concert of Nations, Afghanistan has achieved very great progress under the impulse of His late Majesty Nader Shah, and then through the action of its young sovereign, assisted by strong personalities, to cite only the present Sadre A'azam and his brother, H. H. Sardar Shah Mahmoud Khan, whose action has been very useful to his country. Iraq also follows the march toward perfection, progress, and the defence of its imprescriptible rights, and these four great Oriental countries, which are separated by no divergence, naturally and normally have a very clear tendency toward increasingly greater rapprochement to

safeguard

safeguard common interests and consolidate peace.

Nereed the speeches of H. E. the President of the Council, H. E. the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iran and H. E. the Afghan Minister of War, and you will find, clearly, the absolute confirmation of the points of view expressed above.

The Four-Power Pact which has been mentioned very delicately during these official meetings, at which all the members of the diplomatic corps were present, is really the maximum of a peaceful conception whose action has international bearing for the strengthening of universal peace.

No divergence, direct or indirect, separates the four interested countries: Iran, Turkey, Afghanistan and Iraq. This pact, in essence and in principle, contemplates the maintenance of the status quo and the elimination of the danger of interference in case the grave western situation unleashes a new war whose already visible beginnings disturb international opinion.

The principle of this understanding, about which there is nothing secret or hidden since, at the risk of repetition, we insist on saying that these exchanges of view have taken place in the presence of the members of the diplomatic corps accredited to Iran, contemplates especially the strengthening of world peace, and from this point of view it should be and will be supported by all states, by all countries which desire peace, for it is not a question of an aggressive bloc but, according to the definite declarations of the statesmen of Iran and Afghanistan, of a brotherly fusion for the defense of common interests and the safeguarding of universal peace.

Enclosure No. 4 with despatch No. 935 dated November 12, 1936, from the Legation at Teheran.

PROGRAM OF THE VISIT OF H. E. SARDAR GHAM MAHMOUD KHAN, AFGHAN MINISTER OF WAR, TO IRAN, OCTOBER 31-NOVEMBER 10, 1936.

October 31.

His Highness arrived at Khosrovi in the morning, a battalion of infantry rendering military honors. Division General Mohammad Makhjavan welcomed him in the name of the Shah and presented the Chief of Protocol of the Foreign Office, the Governor of Kermanshah, Colonel Pasha Mobasher, and the commander of the frontier forces.

After a short rest the party departed. A luncheon was offered at Shah Abad.

At Kermanshah the Governor, the military commander, officials of the Municipality and members thereof were before the building chosen as a residence for His Highness when he arrived. Two sentinels were placed before the door to render the necessary honors.

November 1.

His Highness left Kermanshah in the morning and lunched at Hamadan. At 2 p.m. he left Hamadan and spent the night at Kazvin.

November 2.

The Minister of War left Kazvin at 1.30 a.m. The following personalities traveled to Karaj to welcome him: the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Acting Minister of War, the Governor of Teheran, the Afghan Ambassador, the Chief of the Imperial Police, the Acting Director of the Teheran Municipality.

When His Highness entered the grounds of the Higher School of Agriculture, the Gendarmerie Guard rendered honors.

After a short rest, the party left in the following order:

Automobile No. 1: The Afghan Minister of War and the Iranian Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Automobile No. 2: The Afghan Ambassador at Teheran and the Iranian Acting Minister of War.

Automobile No. 3: General Mohammad Omar Khan, Afghan Chief of Staff, and the Iranian Divisional General Makhjavan.

At 11 a.m. the cortege arrived at the Shah's private palace, where the mission was received by the Grand Master of the Court.

The

The Chief of Protocol at the Foreign Office led the Afghan Minister of War, the Afghan Ambassador at Teheran, and the Afghan Chief of Staff to the rooms wherein were the Shah and the Crown Prince. There were present, at the moment of presentation to the Shah: the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, the Grand Master of the Imperial Court, the Iranian Ambassador to Kabul. There were present, at the moment of presentation to the Crown Prince: the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Grand Master of the Crown Prince's Civil Court, and the Iranian Ambassador at Kabul.

After these presentations, the party proceeded to the Abiaz Palace (a dependency of the Golestan Palace) which had been selected as a residence, in the same order and arrangement of automobiles as from Karaj to Teheran. At the Palace, an infantry battalion rendered honors.

November 3.

In the morning, His Highness called on the Prime Minister, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Acting Minister of War, and the Grand Master of the Imperial Court. He lunched with the Shah. At 4 p.m. he was received by the Crown Prince. At 5 p.m. the President of the Majlis called upon His Highness. In the evening a banquet at the Golestan Palace, followed by a reception, was offered by the Prime Minister. The chiefs of the diplomatic missions at Teheran and high Government officials were invited.

November 4.

In the morning, His Highness returned the call of the President of the Majlis and visited that body. He was offered a "stag" luncheon at the Iran Club by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to which the same persons were invited as on the previous evening, minus their wives. At 5 p.m. he had tea with the Crown Prince.

November 5.

In the morning, His Highness visited the Higher Officers' School, and lunched there. At 3 p.m. he visited the School of Fine Arts and the Industrial School. At 5 p.m. he attended a tea in his honor given by the Afghan Ambassador at Teheran. At 9.30 p.m. he appeared at a reception given for him by the Acting President of the Municipality at the Municipal Club.

November 6.

In the afternoon His Highness attended a tea at the Iran Club given in his honor by the Under Secretary of the Foreign Office. In the evening a reception was held in his honor at the Municipal Club by the Acting Minister of War.

November 7.

In the morning, His Highness visited various institutions of the Ministry of Education. In the afternoon he visited the store of the Kala Corporation. In the evening he gave a reception at Abiaz Palace.

November 8

November 8.

At 8 a.m., His Highness proceeded to the Palace to take leave of the Shah and the Crown Prince. The persons who where present at Karaj when His Highness arrived accompanied him to Rudehen to wish him "bon voyage." His Highness lunched at Firuz Kuh and spent the night at Shahrud.

November 9.

His Highness traveled to Sabzevar and lunched at Daverzan.

November 10.

His Highness traveled to Meshed. The Governor General of Khorassan, the military commander, the heads of the Prefecture and the Municipality welcomed him at Torogh.

His Highness stopped two days at Meshed, and thereafter continued the journey to Afghanistan by way of Torbet Sheikh Jam. On the day of his departure, His Highness had luncheon with the Governor General of Kohorassan and took tea at Yussef Abad before crossing the frontier.

As at his arrival, the proper honors were rendered when his Highness crossed the frontier.

A ceremonial similar to that carried out at Kermanshah was applied in all the towns through which His Highness passed.

Note.

The schedule after November 7 had to be altered owing (1) to the fatigue induced by the schedule up to t hat time and (2) to the departure of the Shah and the Crown Prince for Mazanderam on November 5. His Highness therefore rested on November 8 and departed the following morning via Chalus for Mazanderan, where he will presumably take leave of the Shah and rejoin his road at Firuz Kuh.

767.90g 12 Non-
aggression

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 891.9111/417 FOR #921

FROM Iran (Merriam) DATED Oct.28, 1936
TO NAME

1—1127 GPO

REGARDING: Oriental pact between Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan.

Visit to Turkey of the Afghan War Minister in connection with conclusion of -.

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION /28

Wi

C) FOREIGN AFFAIRS

1) The Afghan War Minister to Visit Teheran.

The IRAN on October 20 carried a message from Ankara to the effect that the Afghan Minister of War, Shah Mahmud Khan, when interviewed by press correspondents in Istanbul, stated that he plans to visit Baghdad and Teheran after leaving Turkey. In reply to an inquiry as to whether he will enter into any pourparlers on this trip, he indicated that he is just paying a friendly visit to friendly and fraternal neighbors.

The SETAREH YE DJEHANE of October 23 had a message from Ankara dated the 21st announcing the Afghan War Minister's arrival at Ankara and adding that his presence will facilitate the conclusion of an oriental pact between Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan as suggested by the Turkish Government. Such a pact will tend to complete the Balkan agreement.

767.90/12 Nov
Afghanistan

TREATY DIVISION
FEB 15 1937
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Baghdad, January 7, 1937

No. 745 - Diplomatic

Subject: Alleged inclusion of Saudi Arabia in Eastern Non-Aggression Pact.

6
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
FEB 9 1937
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

The Honorable

The Secretary of State

Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to despatch No. 655 - Diplomatic of June 25, 1936 (File No. 710) concerning the negotiations for a Near Eastern Non-Aggression Pact between Iraq, Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan and to report that the Iraq Press recently carried an article stating that the Baghdad correspondent of "Al-Insha" of Damascus informed his paper that the reasons for postponing the signature of the Pact until March, 1937 have been efforts to include the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia among its signatories. The article further states that these efforts have been successful and that Saudi Arabia will sign the Pact in Teheran together with the other countries at that time.

There has not been sufficient time to confirm this report but the Department will be further informed as soon

as

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION/29
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as any information is obtained.

Respectfully yours,

P. Knabenshue

P. Knabenshue,
Minister Resident and Consul
General.

WB:MH
File No. 710.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

767.90G 12 NON AGGRESSION/ 30 30

SEE 890g.00 General Conditions/96 FOR #757

FROM Iraq (Knabenshue) DATED Feb. 16,1937
TO NAME

1—1127 ero

REGARDING: Asiatic Pact.
Press report that plans are being made for Dr. Rushdi Aras, Foreign Minister of Turkey, to visit Baghdad and Teheran in connection with negotiations concerning the -- between Iraq, Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan.

lec

improvements in the Diwaniyah area in the fields of irrigation, education, etc.

THE ASIATIC PACT

A correspondent of "Al Ihram" at Ankara reports that plans are being made for Dr. Rushdi Aras, Foreign Minister of Turkey, to visit Baghdad and Teheran during the early part of March in connection with negotiations concerning the Asiatic Pact between Iraq, Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan.

--Al-Bilad, Feb. 12, 1937.

Comment: The Iranian Minister in Baghdad has just gone to Teheran, and it is reported that he has definite proposals from Iraq for the settlement of Iraq-Iranian frontier problems to discuss with the Shah. A settlement of these problems must be reached before the conclusion of the Near Eastern Pact.

767.9312 Iran/Agreements

III

ECONOMIC EVENTS

GRAIN MARKET

Local prices of grain have come down some following the drop reported abroad. Grain hoarders are, however, withholding sales pending a recovery in prices.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION /31 3/

SEE 890g.00/400 FOR #763

FROM Iraq (Knabenshue) DATED Mar.4, 1937

TO

NAME

1—1127 GPO

REGARDING: Four-power eastern pact between Iraq, Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan.

Statement of King Ghazi in his speech at the opening of Parliament on February 27 that Iraq was doing all in its power to hasten signature of -.

Wi

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 890g.00 General conditions/98 FOR #765

FROM Iraq (Knabenshue) DATED Mar.17, 1937
TO NAME

1—1127 GPO

REGARDING:

Eastern Pact between Turkey, Iraq and Afghanistan.

Newspaper report that - will be signed during visit of Turkish Foreign Minister to Iraq in March.

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION /32

POLITICIAL EVENTS

RETURN OF IRANIAN MINISTER

The Iranian Minister returned to Baghdad yesterday from his fifteen-day official visit to Teheran.

--Al-Bilad, March 1, 1937.

THE EASTERN PACT

"Chemhouriyat," a Turkish daily, reports that Dr. Tewfick Rushidi Aras, Turkish Foreign Minister, will come to Baghdad the last of this month. Thence, accompanied by the Iraqi Foreign Minister, will proceed to Teheran. The signature of the Eastern Pact between Turkey, Iraq and Afghanistan will take place at that time.

--Al-Bilad, March 7, 1937.

A COMMISSION TO YEMEN

The Council of Ministers has passed a decision delegating Saiyid Jamil Al Madfai, as president of the commission, and Saiyid Mohamed Mehdi Kubba and Saiyid Sa'id Al Haj Thabit to visit Yemen and invite the government of the Imam to adhere to the Arab alliance. The commission is at present studying the files of this subject in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

--Al Ahali, March 8, 1937.

Comment: These reports are in confirmation of the remarks made about the Eastern Pact in despatch No. 763 of March 4, 1937, File No. 800.

A MILITARY MISSION TO TEHERAN

On the occasion of the anniversary of Iran's national day which was held in Teheran on February 28, 1937, the Iraqi Government, on the invitation of the Iranian Government deputed a military mission composed of senior Iraqi army officers to take part in the celebration. While in Iran the mission was the guest of the Iranian Government.

--Al Bilad, March 5, 1937.

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Reply 4/22/37 NE/RA/H/Eh.

Baghdad, March 18, 1937.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
April 24 1937
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APR 24 1937
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NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION/33

Dear Wallace:

In a talk with the Minister for Foreign Affairs yesterday I inquired about the present status of the Near Eastern Pact. He said that it was practically ready for signature, but that inasmuch as the Saudi Arabian Crown Prince will come here during the first week of April and as he will be leaving shortly thereafter for London to attend the Coronation, he will not be able to go to Teheran for signature of the pact until after his return from London.

When I asked him what progress was being made with regard to the settlement of their differences with Iran, he said that was also satisfactory and that it went hand in hand with the Near Eastern Pact. It therefore would appear that these outstanding matters will be cleared up very shortly.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Knabenshue

Wallace Murray, Esquire,
Chief, Division of Near Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

FILED
APR 26 1937

April 24 1937

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION/34

Dear Knabenshue:

I have received your letter of March 18, 1937, regarding the status of the Near Eastern Pact, which would seem definitely to dispose of that matter until some time in June at the earliest. Thank you for keeping us currently informed on this subject.

Sincerely yours,

Wallace Murray

The Honorable
Paul Knabenshue,
American Minister Resident and Consul General,
Baghdad, Iraq.

APR 25 1937

NE RAH/EG

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION / 35

SEE 890g.00 General Conditions/99 FOR #773

FROM Iraq (Knabenshue) DATED April 1,1937
NAME

TO

REGARDING: Arab alliance.
Iraqi Mission to Yemen will leave for Baghdad to extend an invitation to the King of the Yemen to adhere to the -- and to arrange other matters for benefit of the Arabs.

lec

II

POLITICAL EVENTS

THE IRAQI MISSION TO YEMEN

The Iraqi Mission to Yemen, presided by Saiyid Jamil Al-Madfai, will be leaving Baghdad today for San'a, Yemen, to extend an invitation to His Majesty Imam Yahya, King of Yemen to adhere to the Arab alliance and to arrange other matters for the benefit of the Arabs.

-- Al-Alam Ul-Arabi, March 16, 1937.

Note: The other members of the mission are: Sa'id Thabit, President of the Palestine Defence Committee and Shaikh Mohamed Mehdi Kubba, President of Al-Muthana Club which has been instituted for the benefit of a Pan Arab confederation. It is stated that His Majesty has handed the President of the mission a personal letter for delivery to the Imam.

Comment: Reference is made to Despatch No. 748 - Diplomatic, of January 21, 1937, file No. 710 and Despatch No. 765 - Diplomatic, of March 17, 1937, file No. 891.

KING'S BIRTHDAY

On the occasion of the Anniversary of His Majesty's birthday, a special register will be available at the Royal Palace on March 21, 1937 for well wishers to sign

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

April 23, 1937, Baghdad.

No. 782 - Diplomatic

Subject: Iraq's Foreign Minister Leaves to Visit Syria and Turkey

CONFIDENTIAL

DIVISION OF WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
JUN 5 1937
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION/36

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
MAY 28 1937
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that on April 21, 1937, Dr. Naji al-Assil, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iraq, left Baghdad for Ankara via Damascus. He was accompanied by Saiyid Nasrat al-Pharcy, Director General of Foreign Affairs, and Saiyid Jamil as-Salam, Chief of the Eastern Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Originally the Minister had intended to pay visits to Damascus and Ankara on his way to London to represent Iraq at the Coronation of King George. As was reported in despatch No. 779 - Diplomatic, strictly confidential, of April 19, 1937, File No. 800, however, he no longer intends to go to London but will, nevertheless, carry out his Damascus and Ankara visits.

JUN 17 1937
FILED

TREATY DIVISION
JUN 9 1937
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The Minister's trip to Damascus is presumed to be in connection with the reopening of negotiations for the conclusion of a treaty of bon-voisinage and commerce between Iraq and Syria. In Ankara it is expected he will acquaint the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Rushdi Aras, with the status of the negotiations between Iraq and Iran regarding the frontier dispute which must be resolved before the Eastern Non-Aggression Pact can be signed and will make final arrangements for the signature of that pact. In the Iraqi Parliament on April 19, 1937, the Minister of Foreign Affairs stated in reply to an inquiry that the date for signature had not definitely been fixed. He continued, however, that Dr. Rushdi Aras will visit Iraq during the second week in June, and in private Dr. Naji Al-Assil has stated that when his Turkish colleague arrives it is intended that they shall both proceed to Teheran for the signing. It is possible, however, that some difficulty may have arisen in the negotiations to necessitate this special visit to Ankara in spite of the fact that the scheduled trip to London has been cancelled.

790d.90Z11
note
790g.9115

Respectfully yours,

Walworth Barbour

Walworth Barbour
Charge' d'Affaires ad interim.

WB:MH

Received

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Istanbul, Turkey, May 19, 1937.

No. 272

Subject: Visit of the Turkish Foreign Minister to Baghdad and Teheran: the Four Power (Eastern) Non-Aggression Pact.

DIVISION OF EASTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
JUN 10 1937
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

CONFIDENTIAL

DIVISION OF WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
JUN 10 1937
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUN 3 1937
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

TREATY DIVISION
JUN 16 1937
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to inform the Department that on May 5, 1937, LA REPUBLIQUE carried the following news item below a Teheran date-line: "The press announces that M. Rüshdü Aras will come to Teheran at the end of May; it emphasizes that after the signature of the Turco-Iranian treaties his visit will be made the occasion of demonstrating the community of views of the two countries."

Rumors in this respect have been current in Turkey for some weeks. Apparently informed opinion differs sharply as to whether or not the much publicized Quadripartite Pact of Non-Aggression among Turkey,

Iraq,

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION/37
FILED
JUN 17 1937

Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan will or will not be signed during the forthcoming visit of the Turkish Foreign Minister to Baghdad and Teheran (and possibly also to Moscow). The matter appears to depend upon the reaching, prior to the arrival of Dr. Aras, of a satisfactory solution of the outstanding differences between Iraq and Iran, particularly in regard to the disputed Shatt-al-Arab boundary -- a question which has long vexed Irano-Iraqi relations, but which is now said to be demonstrating satisfactory progress toward an eventual solution. Dr. Aras will no doubt lend his good offices to accelerate a satisfactory disposal of the boundary question if, as seems probable, the matter is still in abeyance during the course of his visits.

Now that the much publicized Four-Power Pact seems to be approaching signature, some interest is being evinced among diplomatic circles in Turkey as to what countries may eventually become parties thereto, and what the reactions of Britain and the U. S. S. R. may be said to be, in general, toward the rapprochement of these countries of the Near East.

As regards the first point, such information as the Embassy has been able to obtain indicates that the Pact, when first signed, will not include any countries other than Turkey and those originally invited by it to participate, i. e., Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan, but that, in the words which Dr. Aras is reported as having used to the Iraqi Foreign Minister, when the question was raised during the latter's recent visit, "it is desired to extend the benefits deriving from the Pact to any neighboring countries caring to adhere after the Pact has

has been concluded". It is anticipated that Saudi Arabia, Egypt and eventually Syria, may ultimately be found in this latter category.

As regards British and Soviet reactions to the Pact, the former is more apparent and more readily evaluated. The fact that Iraq has consistently, for approximately two years, been considered as an eventual signatory, may be construed as prima facie evidence of Great Britain's acquiescence -- an attitude at least not incompatible with its reported support, particularly in 1935 and 1936, of the several bi-lateral "Arab treaties" by which it was thought to be bidding for Arab good will in the countries of the "Empire's back door", between the Mediterranean and India. In so far as direct relations between Great Britain and Turkey are concerned, there is apparent no hint of restraint, such as might be remarked if the former had opposed the Pact.

Such opportunities as have presented themselves to the Embassy to ascertain with any degree of accuracy the Soviet reaction to the treaty, have disclosed only that the U. S. S. R. has refrained from making any official pronouncement on the subject and has, in general, adopted a non-committal, if somewhat un-enthusiastic, attitude. The Embassy has learned, in this respect, from a usually reliable Turkish source, that when this matter was recently mentioned to Dr. Aras by a newspaper correspondent he is said to have replied, "Turkey has no need to obtain the advance approval

of

of Soviet Russia when negotiating treaties - but we have no reason to believe that it would object if asked to express its views".

The pact does not represent any startling new departure in Turkey's foreign policy. It is definitely in the spirit of the Balkan Entente, and complements in Asia the steps toward bon voisinage which Turkey has already taken in Europe. Probably because Turkish relations with her neighbors to the east and south have been excellent, the Eastern Pact has not been hurried, but has been allowed to work itself out slowly. For that reason, also, the negotiation of the Pact has failed, in its several steps, to arouse in Turkey the same interest and comment as has been aroused elsewhere, notably in the European press.

Respectfully yours,

J. V. A. MacMurray.

Copies sent to: London, Paris, Moscow, Cairo, Teheran, Beirut and Calcutta.

710/715

JLB:mej

3

767.90g12 Non-
aggression

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 767.00/67 FOR #273

FROM Turkey (MacMurray) DATED May 19, 1937
TO NAME

1—1127 GPO

REGARDING:
Eastern Non-Aggression Pact.

Comments on status of - and Turkish attitude concerning the Pact.

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION/38

W 1

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC ADVISER
JUN 19 1937
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Baghdad, May 13, 1937.

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1937 JUN 11 PM 1 37

Despatch No. 796 - Diplomatic

Subject: Iraqi Foreign Minister's Visit to Syria and Turkey

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS
DIVISION OF WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
JUN 18 1937
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FOR DISTRIBUTION - CHECK
To the Field
In U. S. A.
Copy to Consulate General, Beirut
" " " " Jerusalem
" " Embassy, Istanbul

File

Copy Transmitted by the
Commercial Office (A-C/C)
To Beirut
Jerusalem
Istanbul

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUN 12 1937
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

6/17/37

767.90g12 Non-Aggression

Sir:

767.90g12 Non-Aggression/36

I have the honor to refer to despatch No. 782 of April 23, 1937, (File No. 030/710) reporting the departure of Dr. Naji Al-Assil, Iraqi Foreign Minister on a visit to Damascus and Ankara. On May 8, 1937, he returned to Baghdad.

790D.90g11/3

As was reported in despatch No. 785 of April 28, 1937, the Foreign Minister signed a Treaty of Bon Voisinage with the Syrian Republic while in Damascus. It was originally believed that this treaty was of friendship and alliance in general terms, but it now appears that it relates only to grazing rights among the border tribes, continuing the provisional agreement on that subject signed by Iraq and Syria on April 27, 1927.

note 790D.90g11

TREATY DIVISION
JUN 22 1937.
File CXB
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

In

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION/39
JUL 6 - 1937
FILED

In Ankara the Foreign Minister is reported to have exchanged notes with Dr. Rushdi Aras, Turkish Foreign Minister, prolonging Chapter II of the tri-partite treaty of June 5, 1926, between Great Britain and Iraq and Turkey in accordance with the provision of Article 17 thereof. A translation of an official announcement of the Turkish Republic concerning the conversations, as it appeared in the Baghdad press, is enclosed. 1/

In addition the two Foreign Ministers are reported to have discussed the four-power Eastern Pact, general Iraqi-Turkish relations, and, according to the Syrian press, Iraq's attitude toward the Alexandretta question.

With regard to the latter, the official announcement from Turkey concerning the meetings, as reported in the Baghdad press, does state that the countries detached from the former Ottoman Empire were the subject of discussion. While this would, of course, include Alexandretta, it is not believed that Iraq would take any specific stand with regard thereto, and articles appearing in the Syrian press, as reprinted in Baghdad, indicating that Iraq has played the part of mediator in this matter are discounted. Reference is made to despatch No. 749 of June 21, 1937, (File No. 714).

In connection with the four-power Eastern Pact which was considered one of the main objects of the discussions as reported in despatch No. 782 of April 23, 1937, concerning the Iraqi Foreign Minister's trip, the local press publishes a reprint of an article appearing in the Turkish newspaper "Chamhouriyet." 2/ A translation thereof is enclosed. It will be noted that the Turkish Foreign Minister intends to repay the visit of Iraq's Foreign Minister, and it is expected that both

Ministers

Ministers will visit Teheran at that time. On the other hand, the article infers that the Eastern Pact may not be signed then due to the failure of Iraq and Iran to settle their frontier differences in advance. Such a possibility was mentioned in despatch No. 782 (36 referred to above.

In connection with Dr. Naji Al-Assil's visit in general, reference may be made to the item on page four of despatch No. 215 / 867N.9111/167 of April 20, 1937, from the Consulate General at Jerusalem entitled "Rumored Iraqi Support of Palestine Arab Cause." Little credence is given to this opinion of the Palestinian press. It is thought that its deductions are inspired largely by its desire to find a Palestinian news aspect of the visit in the same manner as the Syrina press enlarges upon any reference that may have been made in Ankara to Alexandretta. Undoubtedly informal mention of Palestine was made in conversation, but the attitude of the present government of Iraq toward Palestine has previously been set forth as mentioned in despatch No. 743 of January 6, 1937, (file 867N.00/433 No. 800) and that attitude would not seem to call for any formal discussions on the subject by Iraq with other governments.

Respectfully yours,

P. Knabenshue

P. Knabenshue

WB:MH
File No. 030/710
Enclosures:
As stated.

Enclosure No. / to Despatch No. 796 - Diplomatic dated May 13, 1937 from American Legation, Baghdad, Iraq.

Source: Al-Ahali,
May 11, 1937.

Turco-Iraq Relations

An Official Announcement by the Turkish Republic

His Excellency Naji Al-Asil, Iraqi Minister of Foreign Affairs, has paid a visit to the President of the Turkish Republic and has met Rushdi Aras, Turkish Foreign Minister, several times. The statesmen of the countries have exchanged views concerning their mutual relations and have found that the peaceful policy maintained by each country with the other was the best policy to serve their respective high ideals and common interest. They were pleased to see the growth of the friendly relations happily subsisting between the two countries in an atmosphere imbued with total loyalty and mutual confidence. Dr. Aras and Dr. Al-Asil have exchanged notes prolonging the second part of the Tripartite treaty of June 5, 1936. Concerning the relations of the countries vis-a-vis the other Arab countries which were detached from the former Ottoman Empire after the World War, the statesmen of Turkey and Iraq who, feeling an interest to see a progressive advance toward the emancipation of those countries, have decided to follow a friendly co-operative policy with them for the welfare of future generations.

Enclosure No. 2 to Despatch No. 796 - Diplomatic dated May 13, 1937 from American Legation, Baghdad, Iraq.

Source: Al-Bilad,
May 12, 1937.

The Quadruple Eastern Pact

The Turkish "Chamhouriyet" has published the following article in her last issue:

His Excellency Dr. Towfick Rushdi Aras, Minister of Foreign Affairs, will shortly be leaving Ankara for Geneva. He will return to Turkey during the last week of this month.

On his return from his Geneva trip the Foreign Minister will be leaving Ankara for Baghdad to return the visit of Dr. Naji Al-Asil, Iraqi Minister of Foreign Affairs. Dr. Towfick Rushdi Aras will probably stay two days in Baghdad and thence he will proceed to Teheran.

It had been decided that the Eastern Pact would be signed shortly in Teheran. It was very probable that the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Iraq and Afghanistan would proceed to Teheran to sign the Quadruple Eastern Pact. It is stated, however, that the Iraqi Government has expressed its desire to sign the Pact after the settlement of the dispute with Iran over the frontier question. Iraq wishes first to settle its differences with Iran over certain territories and in particular insists on the application of the provisions of the treaty relating to those lands. The treaty referred to provides that Iran returns certain territory which is now in its possession to the former Ottoman Empire and its transfer to Iraq in its capacity as the heir to it. It is probable, however, to settle this dispute which is not of much importance during the visit to Baghdad of Dr. Rushdi Aras, Turkish Foreign Minister. In the event that the Eastern Pact will not be signed during the visit of the Turkish Foreign Minister, it will nevertheless be concluded at a meeting to be arranged by the Foreign Ministers of Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan after the settlement of the Iraq-Iran dispute.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 790g.9115/100 FOR Tel.14, 10 p.m.

FROM Iraq (Knabenshue) DATED June 28, 1937

TO NAME

1—1127 GPO

REGARDING:

Turkish and Iraqi Foreign Ministers will visit Teheran during which Near Eastern pact is to be signed.

767.90G12 NON-AGGRESSION/391-2

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TD

MA

GRAY

Baghdad

Dated June 28, 1937

Rec'd 10:10 a. m.

Secretary of State

Washington

14, June 28, 10 p. m.

I am informed that as a result of visit here last week of the Turkish Foreign Minister who left for Teheran 25th and with his assistance treaty between Iraq and Iran has been initialed. Iraqi Foreign Minister reported leaving for Teheran tonight to sign treaty following which Near Eastern pact is to be signed.

note 767.90g 12 Non-aggression

790g.9115/100

KNABENSHUE

DDM:KLP

NOTE FROM 867N.9111/168

TRANSFERRED

TO

790F.90G 11/24

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION/40

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

JR
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (A)

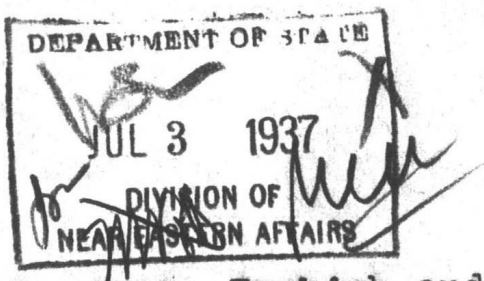
FROM Teheran

Dated July 2, 1937

Rec'd 1:30 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.



42. July 2, noon.

The arrival in Teheran of the Turkish and Iraki Ministers of Foreign Affairs and the expected arrival a few days hence of the Afghan Foreign Minister seem to indicate that the signing of the four power pact is imminent.

ENGERT

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767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION/41

FILED
JUL 7 - 1937

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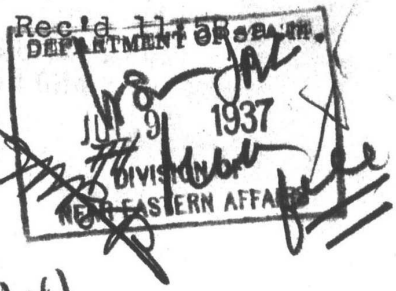
TELEGRAM RECEIVED

JR
A portion of this telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (A)

FROM Teheran

Dated July 9, 1937

Rec'd 11:15 a.m.



Secretary of State,

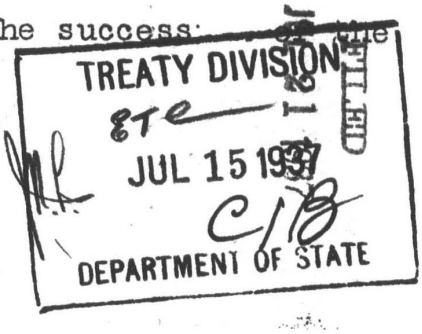
Washington.

45. July 9, 10 a.m.

(GRAY) Legation's telegram No. 42, July 2, noon.

Eastern Pact was signed last night by the Foreign Ministers of Iran, Turkey, Iraq and Afghanistan. Text not published but is understood to be essentially as initialed in Geneva in 1935. Purpose is to ensure peace in the Near East within framework of the League and provisions of Paris Pact by means of consultation, promise of non-aggression and respect of common frontiers. (END GRAY)

CONFIDENTIAL. I am reliably informed that Turkey which has been the prime mover has been helpful in settling the old boundary dispute between Iraq and Iran on the Shatt-Al-Arab and thus made the four power pact possible. All signatories were also much influenced by the fate of Ethiopia as each considers itself exposed to possible similar dangers, and by the success of the Buenos Aires Conference.



ENGERT

RR:WWC

note

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767.90G12 NON-AGGRESSION/42

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TELEGRAM RECEIVED

TREATY DIVISION
JUL 16 1937
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

MJP

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
JUL 15 1937
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FROM GRAY

Teheran

Dated July 14, 1937

Rec'd 10:20 a.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUL 14 1937
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

49, July 14, Noon.

My 45, July 9, 10 a.m. 142

Text has since then been published here and will be mailed.

ENGERT

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Eastern Pact

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JUL 16 1937

TREATY DIVISION
file
JUL 17 1937
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

767.90Q 12 NON-AGGRESSION/43

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 890g.00 General Conditions/103 FOR # 803

FROM Iraq (Knabenshue) DATED June 10, 1937

TO NAME

1—1127 GPO

REGARDING: Eastern Pact and Afghanistan.
Afghan Government has expressed its inclination and readiness to adhere to this pact .

lec

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION/ 44

I
POLITICAL EVENTS

RETURN OF THE IRAQI MISSION TO YEMEN

The Iraqi mission to Yemen with Jamil Al-Madfai as the President arrived at Baghdad yesterday and was accorded an enthusiastic reception.

Al-Ahali, May 20, 1937.

COMMENT: As reported in despatch No. 795 of May 13, 1937, this mission obtained the agreement of Yemen to adhere to the Arab Alliance.

THE EASTERN PACT AND AFGHANISTAN

According to news received from Kabul, Afghanistan, Afghan political circles are much concerned with the Eastern Pact which is expected to be concluded between four Islamic countries: Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan. The Afghan Government has expressed to the promoting countries of this pact its inclination and readiness to adhere to this quadruple pact in which the Afghans see the best means for the unity of Islamic states and the preservation of their independence, the advancement of Near and Middle Eastern countries and the formation of a strong Asiatic front which will be able to oppose the influence of colonization politics in this part of Asia.

767.90g 12-Non-Aggression

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Istanbul, Turkey, July 14, 1937.

No. 299

Subject: The Saadabad Treaty: Eastern Pact of Friendship and Non-Aggression between Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran and Turkey.

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
AUG 9 1937
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

TREATY DIVISION
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUL 28 1937
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

Telegrams to Istanbul, Baghdad & Teheran - 8/3/37
PHA/LS

AUG 5 - 1937

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Embassy's despatch No. 272 of May 19, 1937, in which reference was made to the anticipated signature by Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran and Turkey of a quadripartite pact of non-aggression, and to inform the Department that the local press reports that the accord was signed by the Foreign Ministers of the countries concerned at Teheran on July 8, 1937. Having been signed at the royal palace of Saadabad, it is understood that the pact will henceforth be known as the Saadabad Treaty.

FILED
AUG 21 1937

767.90G 12 NON-AGGRESSION/45

Press

Press comment on the progress of the negotiations which preceded the signature of the treaty, and later on the importance and significance of the treaty itself, has been both voluminous and enthusiastic. The treaty is hailed not only as evidence that peaceful and friendly means have been successful in resolving disputes which have "for centuries" caused mutual distrust and ill-will to mark the relations between several of the four countries involved, but also as a monument to international security which has been erected by states which not long ago were under the domination and influence of powers which today are unable to settle their own differences in similar fashion.

An examination of the ten articles of the treaty, as published in the Turkish press, reveals that provision is made for no new departure in Turkey's foreign policy, which has been described as "one of friendship for all, but alliance with none". The treaty definitely provides for support of the League of Nations and for recognition of the obligations undertaken as a result of adherence to the so-called Kellogg Pact -- provisions not without significance at a time when European affairs are in their present unclarified state. (During the past six months Turkey has apparently lost no opportunity to affirm its loyalty to the League and to the cause of world peace).

The treaty further provides for the inviolability of mutual frontiers, for non-aggression as defined in Article IV, for abstention from interference in the internal affairs of the other signatories, for recourse to the League in the case of aggression by one of the signatories, and for the peaceful settlement of disputes. It will remain in force for five years from the date of signature, and for an

additional

additional period of five years in case of non-denunciation.

After the treaty had been signed the press reports that a "Council of the Eastern Entente" was created to "discuss questions affecting the common interests of the signatories and to coordinate action under the treaty". The Iranian Foreign Minister having been unanimously elected as the Council's first president, proposed a resolution whereby the new Entente would support Iran's candidacy for Turkey's seat on the League Council which becomes vacant next September, and would thereafter arrange for the reservation of the seat for other members of the Entente, in alphabetical order. The resolution likewise provided for obtaining recognition of the fact that Turkey would be eligible to have a "semi-permanent" seat in the Council, so that, as "a European and Asiatic country, it would thus be permitted to continue its useful activities". The resolution, according to the local press, was adopted forthwith and was signed by the four Foreign Ministers.

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The Embassy is aware of no new consideration or circumstance which would render advisable an alteration of its appreciation of the importance of the treaty as expressed in Despatch No. 272 of May 19, 1937 -- it is still considered by authoritative opinion to be the normal complement in Asia to the steps toward bon voisinage which have already been taken in Europe by means of the Balkan Entente.

Respectfully yours,

S. Walter Washington,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

Enclosures:
1/ - Translation of article from ULUS of July 8, 1937;

2/ - Translation of article from LA RÉPUBLIQUE of July 10, 1937;

3/ - Translation of article from LE JOURNAL D'ORIENT of July 11, 1937;

4/ - Clipping from LE JOURNAL D'ORIENT of July 11, 1937.

Copies sent to Baghdad, Teheran, Geneva and Calcutta.

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Enclosure No. 1 to despatch No. 299, dated July 14, 1937, from American Embassy at Istanbul.

SOURCE: ULUS,
No. 173,
July 8, 1937.

TRANSLATION

THE EASTERN PACT

The telegrams originating in Teheran on the subject of the non-aggression pact which is on the point of being signed by Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq and Turkey announce for the partisans of peace the happiest event of the year 1937. These four States, between which there exists no real difference of interests, have smoothed the way by mutual understanding for disposing of all controversial questions which thus far have delayed the signature of such a pact: The Shah-in-Shah in Iran and Ataturk in Turkey have succeeded in resolving in short order all those problems which for centuries have separated their two neighboring countries. The frontier dispute between Afghanistan and Iran has been settled by Turkish arbitration and there is no reason why similar differences between Iraq and Iran may not be terminated in the same fashion.

The Oriental Pact extends from the shores of the Mediterranean to the interior of Asia, the regime of reciprocal guarantee, of peace and of security. There exists two principal reasons why these nations should desire to guarantee non-aggression between each other, and to avoid any action which may compromise their security. The first reason is that all four have no other end than that of realizing for their respective countries prosperity and the creation of perfected modern institutions. They therefore wish security and tranquillity. The second reason is that these four nations are definitely committed to the ideal of maintaining national liberty, peace and international confidence. If one takes into consideration the ante bellum relations of the countries which will be brought together by the Eastern Pact, one will easily understand how great has been their evolution which has led up to the ceremony which will shortly take place at Teheran. These nations, forced to exist deprived of all their rights in their own territories which were divided into different zones of influence, have realized in two generations the greatest progress known to history. Miracles were necessary for them to escape from slavery and national death. In organizing their internal policy they heeded the advice which comes to them from the past in the form of lessons of unhappiness and they have transformed themselves into mature nations worthy of serving as an example to others.

At

At a moment when the majority of Western nations were not able to solve a single one of the important problems which faced them, these countries who are about to sign the Eastern Pact have found means to liquidate, while remaining faithful to the pacific principles of the League of Nations, all the complex difficulties which have endured between them for centuries. Nations which were believed to be vowed to mutual enmity are now to be joined together by the closest brotherly ties of good neighborship.

The Eastern Pact emerges as the natural result of this development of friendly relations which has marked the last years. Let us congratulate ourselves.

Enclosure No. 2 to despatch No. 299, dated July 14, 1937, from American Embassy at Istanbul.

SOURCE: LA RÉPUBLIQUE,
No. 4404,
July 10, 1937.

TRANSLATION

THE GREAT SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ASIATIC PACT CONCLUDED AT TEHERAN.

One may consider the Asiatic Pact as the first treaty to be concluded by completely free Eastern States on their own account. Turkey, whose foreign policy is designed solely for the maintenance of friendly relations, in the signature of the Pact signed yesterday at Teheran, as in the Balkan Entente, played a role of the utmost importance and has thereby rendered a new and signal service to world peace. This event may justly make us proud.

The pact of friendship and non-aggression among Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan and Turkey was solemnly signed yesterday at Teheran at the famous palace of Sad'Abad by the Foreign Ministers of the four States concerned. This pact, which has been pending for many long years, possesses a profound historical significance. There can be no doubt but that it will be hailed with great satisfaction not only by the interested countries but also by all European States which are animated by good will.

The Eastern Pact, all the phases of which the entire world has followed with a great if silent interest, is one of the manifestations -- unhappily becoming more and more rare -- of good will and sincerity between nations. The four States of the Near East have succeeded after a serious effort in discarding the differences and discussions which have held them apart for years, and have promised -- by virtue of the accord which has just been signed -- to see to it that their relations are founded upon sentiments of sincere friendliness and <u>bon voisinage</u>.

Furthermore, it would be in no sense an error to state that the relations between Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan and Turkey have always been marked by a friendly cordiality. Iran has had difficulties with Iraq and Afghanistan in relation to its frontiers between these two States. It is only natural that the solution of these difficulties, which are an inheritance centuries old, could not have been arrived at

<u>within</u>

within a few days. The three countries are perfectly aware that the good-neighbor spirit is possible only when frontiers have been clearly delimited, and one must greet with satisfaction their disposal of this problem. Differences between Iran and Afghanistan were smoothed out by the good offices of a Turkish military mission, during conversations which at no time exceeded friendly limits. It is learned with satisfaction that the Shatt-el-Arab dispute has finally been solved by a treaty signed at Teheran by Iran and Iraq.

SOURCE: LE JOURNAL D'ORIENT,
No. 6606,
July 11, 1937.

TRANSLATION

THE TREATY OF SAD'ABAD

Text of the Treaty of Sad'Abad, signed at Teheran by Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran and Turkey on July 8, 1937, as reported in the Turkish press.

Preamble:

His Majesty the Shah-in-Shah of Iran, His Majesty the King of Afghanistan, His Majesty the King of Iraq, and the President of the Turkish Republic,

desirous of contributing by all means in their power to the maintenance of friendly relations and understanding between them,

animated by a desire to assure the peace and the security of the Near East by guarantees additional to those found in the Covenant of the League of Nations, and thus to contribute to general peace,

cognizant of their obligations undertaken by virtue of the Treaty for the Renunciation of War as an instrument of National Policy, signed at Paris, August 27, 1928, and of other treaties to which they are parties, and in harmony with the spirit of the Covenant of the League of Nations and of the Treaty for the Renunciation of War, have decided to conclude the present treaty and with this end in view, nominate:

His Majesty the Shah-in-Shah of Iran: His Excellency Enayetollah Samy, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iran,

His Majesty the King of Afghanistan: His Excellency Faiz Mohammed Han, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan,

His Majesty the King of Iraq: His Excellency Dr. Nadjial-Asil, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iraq,

The President of the Turkish Republic: His Excellency Dr. Rustu Aras, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey.

Article I. The high contracting parties mutually undertake to pursue a policy of absolute abstention from interference in their respective internal affairs.

Article II.

Article II. The high contracting parties mutually undertake to respect the inviolability of their common frontiers.

Article III. The high contracting parties agree to confer on all international conflicts affecting their common interests.

Article IV. Each of the high contracting parties undertakes, in relation to the other parties, to abstain in all cases, either alone or in conjunction with one or more third powers, from any act of aggression directed against one of the other high contracting parties. The following shall be considered as acts of aggression:

1. A declaration of war,
2. Invasion by the armed forces of a State, even without a declaration of war, of the territory of another State,
3. Attack, by the land, naval or air forces of a State, even without a declaration of war, on the territory, battleships or aircraft of another State,
4. Direct or indirect aid or assistance to an aggressor.

The following shall not constitute acts of aggression:

1. The exercise of the right of legitimate defense, that is to say, resistance to an act of aggression such as is defined above,
2. Action undertaken in accordance with Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations,
3. Action undertaken by reason of a decision taken by the Assembly of the Council of the League of Nations or in accordance with Paragraph 7 of Article 15 of the Covenant, provided that in the latter case such action is directed against the State which is the first to deliver the attack,
4. Aid or assistance to a State which is the victim of attack or invasion, or an act of war by one of the high contracting parties, contrary to the Treaty for the Renunciation of War signed at Paris on August 27, 1938.

Article V. Should one of the high contracting parties consider that a violation of Article IV of the present treaty has been or is on the point of being completed, it will immediately place the question before the Council of the League of Nations. The preceding provision will not compromise the right of the high contracting party involved to take such action as may be judged necessary in the circumstances.

Article VI. Should one of the high contracting parties undertake an act of aggression against a third power, another of the high contracting parties may denounce the present treaty without notice in so far as the aggressor is concerned.

Article VII. Each of the high contracting parties mutually undertake to prevent within their frontiers the formation of armed bands, of associations or organizations seeking to overthrow the established institutions or to affect public order and security within the territory of another high contracting party.

Article VIII. The high contracting parties, having already recognized by virtue of the pact for the renunciation of war of August 27, 1928, that the regulation and solution of all differences or conflicts, of any nature or cause, which may arise between them, may not be adjusted except by pacific means, reaffirm this principle and declare that such differences shall be disposed of by such procedure as has been or will be provided by the high contracting parties.

Article IX. No Article of the present treaty may be interpreted as diminishing in any manner the obligations which each of the high contracting parties have assumed by virtue of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Article X. The present treaty, written in French and signed in quadruplicate, of which each of the high contracting parties has received one copy, is valid for five years. At the expiration of this period the treaty will be considered as having been renewed for an additional period of five years provided that one of the high contracting parties has not notified its intention to denounce the treaty six months previously. The treaty will continue in force between those powers which have not denounced it.

The present treaty will be ratified by each of the high contracting parties in conformity with their respective laws, and will be recorded with the League of Nations through the Secretariat, which will be requested to inform other States members of the League. Ratifications shall be deposited by each of the high contracting parties with the Iranian Government.

The present treaty will enter into force between any two interested powers as soon as ratified by them; it will enter into force, in so far as the other interested powers are concerned, progressively with the deposit of the ratifications. Each ratification will be immediately made known to the signatories by the Government of Iran.

Signed at the palace of Sad'Abad, July 8, 1937.

Préamuble :

S. M. le Chahinchah de l'Iran, S. M. le roi d'Afghanistan, S. M. le roi de l'Irak et le Président de la République turque,

Désireux de contribuer par tous les moyens en leur pouvoir au maitien des relations d'amitié et de bonne entente entre eux,

Animés du dessein d'assurer la paix et la sécurité dans le proche-Orient au moyen des garanties additionnelles dans le cadre du pacte de la SDN et de contribuer ainsi à la paix générale,

Pénétrés de leurs obligations en vertu du traité de renonciation à la guerre, signé à Paris le 27 août 1928, et des autres traités auxquels ils sont parties, tous en harmonie avec le pacte de la SDN et du traité de renonciation à la guerre;

Ont décidé de conclure le présent traité et, dans ce but, nommé :

S. M. le Chahinchah de l'Iran S. E. Enayeto:llah Samiy, ministre des affaires étrangères de l'Iran,

S. M. le roi de l'Afghanistan : S. E. Faiz Mohammed Khan, ministre des affaires étrangères de l'Afghanistan

S. M. le roi de l'Irak : S. E. le Dr. Nadjialasil, ministre des affaires étrangères de l'Irak,

le Président de la République Turque : S. E. le Dr. Tevfik Rüstü Aras, ministre des affaires étrangères de Turquie.'

Article 1er. — Les hautes parties contractantes s'engagent à poursuivre la politique d'abstention absolue de toute ingérance dans leurs affaires intérieures.

Art. 2. — Les hautes parties contractantes s'engagent à respecter l'inviolabilité des frontières communes.

Art. 3 — Les hautes parties contractantes conviennent de se consulter dans tous les conflits d'ordre international ayant trait à leurs intérêts communs.

Art. 4. — Chacune des hautes parties contractantes s'engage, vis à vis de l'autre à ne recourir en aucun cas, soit isolement, soit conjointement avec une ou plusieurs tierces puissances, à aucun acte d'agression contre l'une des autres. Sont considérés comme actes d'agression :

1) déclaration de guerre,

2 : invasion par forces armées d'un Etat, même sans déclaration de guerre, du territoire d'un autre Etat,

3) attaque, par forces terrestres, navales et aériennes d'un Etat même sans déclaration de guerre du territoire, des navires ou des aéronefs d'un autre Etat,

4) aide et assistance directe ou indirecte à l'agresseur.

Ne constituent pas acte d'agression :

1) l'exercice du droit de légitime défense, c'est à dire résistance à l'acte d'agression tel que défini plus haut,

2) action en application de l'article 16 du pacte de la S. D. N.

3) action en raison d'une décision prise par l'assemblée du conseil de la S. D. N. ou en application de l'article 14, paragraphe 7 du Covenant, pourvu que, dans ce dernier cas, l'action soit dirigée contre l'Etat qui le premier s'est livré à l'attaque.

4) l'action de l'aide à l'Etat victime d'une attaque ou d'une invasion ou encore d'un recours à la guerre par une des hautes parties contractantes contrairement au traité de la renonciation à la guerre signé à Paris le 27 août 1928.

Art. 5. — Si une des hautes parties contractantes estime qu'une violation de l'article 4 du présent traité fut ou est sur le point d'être commise, elle portera immédiatement la question devant le Conseil de la S. D. N. La disposition qui précède ne porte pas atteinte au droit de cette haute partie contractante de prendre toute mesure qu'elle juge nécessaire dans la circonstance.

Art. 6. — Si une des hautes parties contractantes se livre à une agression contre une tierce puissance, une autre haute partie contractante pourra dénoncer le présent traité en ce qui concerne l'agresseur sans préavis.

Art. 7. — Chacune des hautes parties contractantes s'engage à prévenir à l'intérieur de ses frontières la formation ou l'action des bandes armées, des associations ou organisations visant au renversement des institutions établies ou à porter atteinte à l'ordre et à la sécurité dans le territoire d'une autre haute partie contractante.

Art. 8. — Les hautes parties contractantes ayant déjà reconnu, en vertu du pacte général de la renonciation à la guerre du 27 août 1928, que le règlement et la solution de tous les différends ou conflits, de quelque nature et d'origine, qui pourront surgir entre elles ne devra jamais être recherchée que par des moyens pacifiques, confirment cette disposition et déclarent se référer aux procédures créées ou à créer entre les hautes parties contractantes.

Art. 9. — Aucun article du présent traité ne peut être interprété comme diminuant en quoi que ce soit les obligations assumées par chacune des hautes parties contractantes en vertu du pacte de la S. D. N.

Art. 10. — Le présent traité, rédigé en français et signé en 4 exemplaires dont chacune des hautes parties contractantes reconnait avoir reçu un, est conclu pour 5 ans. A l'expiration de ce délai, à moins qu'une des hautes partie contractantes n'ait notifié sa dénonciation avec préavis de six mois, le traité sera considéré comme renouvelé de plein droit pour une nouvelle période de 5 ans. Le traité continue à être en vigueur entre les puissances non dénonciatrices.

Le présent traité sera ratifié par chacune des hautes parties contractantes conformément à sa législation et enregistré à la S. D N. par les soins du secrétaire général qui sera prié d'en donner connaissance aux autres membres de la société. Les instruments de ratification seront déposés par chacune des hautes parties contractantes auprès du gouvernement iranien.

Le présent traité entrera en vigueur entre deux puissances intéressées aussitôt que ratifié par celles-ci ; il entrera en vigueur en ce qui concerne les puissances intéressées au fur et à mesure du dépôt des instruments de ratification. Chaque dépôt sera immédiatement notifié par le gouvernement de l'Iran à tous les signataires du présent traité.

Fait au palais de Saadabad, le 8 juillet 1937

Préambule :

S.M. le Chahinchah de l'Iran, S. M. le roi de l'Afghanistan, S. M. le roi de l'Irak et les Président de la République turque.

désireux de contribuer par tous les moyens en leur pouvoir au maintien des relations d'amitié et de bonne entente entre eux,

animés du dessein d'assurer la paix et la sécurité dans le Proche-Orient au moyen des garanties additionnelles dans le cadre du Pacte de la S.D.N. et de contribuer ainsi à la paix générale;

pénétrés de leurs obligations en vertu du traité de renonciation à la guerre signé à Paris le 27 août 1928, et des autres traités auxquels ils sont parties, tous en harmonie avec le pacte de la S. D. N. et du traité de renonciation à la guerre,

ont décidé de conclure le présent traité et dans ce but, nomme :

S.M. le Chahinchah de l'Iran : S. E. Enayetollah Samy, ministre des Affaires étrangères de l'Iran,

S.M. le roi de l'Afghanistan : S. E. Faix Mohammed Han, ministre des Affaires étrangères de l'Afghanistan,

S.M. le roi de l'Irak : S. E. le Dr Nadji-al-Asil, ministre des Affaires étrangères de l'Irak;

Le Président de la République turque : Si E. le Dr Ruchtu Aras, ministre des Affaires étrangères de Turquie.

Art. I.— Les hautes parties contractantes s'engagent à poursuivre la politique d'abstention absolue de toute ingérence dans leurs affaires intérieures.

Art. II.— Les hautes parties contractantes s'engagent à respecter l'inviolabilité des frontières communes.

Art. III.— Les hautes parties contractantes conviennent de se consulter dans tous les conflits d'ordre international ayant trait à leurs intérêts communs.

Art. IV.— Chacune des hautes parties contractantes s'engage, vis-à-vis de l'autre, à ne recourir, en aucun cas, soit isolément, soit conjointement avec une ou plusieurs tierces puissances, à aucun acte d'agression contre l'une des autres. Sont considérés comme actes d'agression :

1.— déclaration de guerre,

2.— invasion par forces armées d'un Etat, même sans déclaration de guerre du territoire d'un autre Etat,

3.— attaque, par forces terrestres, navales ou aériennes d'un Etat même sans déclaration de guerre du territoire, des navires ou des aéronefs d'un autre Etat,

4.— aide et assistance directe ou indirecte à l'agresseur.

Ne constituent pas acte d'agression :

1.— l'exercice du droit de légitime défense, c'est-à-dire résistance à l'acte d'agression tel que défini plus haut.

2.— action en application de l'article 16 du pacte de la S.D.N.

3.— action en raison d'une décision prise par l'Assemblée du Conseil de la S. D. N. ou en application de l'article 15, paragraphe 7 du Covenant, pourvu que dans ce dernier cas l'action soit dirigée contre l'Etat qui, le premier s'est livré à l'attaque ;

4.— l'action de l'aide à l'Etat victime d'une attaque ou d'une invasion ou encore d'un recours à la guerre par une des hautes parties contractantes, contrairement au traité de la renonciation à la guerre signé à Paris le 27 août 1928.

Art. V.— Si une des hautes parties contractantes estime qu'une violation de l'article 4 du présent traité fut ou est sur le point d'être commise, elle portera immédiatement la question devant le Conseil de la S.D.N. La disposition qui précède ne porte pas atteinte au droit de cette haute partie contractante de prendre toute mesure qu'elle juge nécessaire dans la circonstance.

Art. VI.— Si une des hautes parties contractantes se livre à une agression contre une tierce puissance, une autre haute partie contractante pourra dénoncer le présent traité en ce qui concerne l'agresseur sans préavis.

Art. VII.— Chacune des hautes parties contractantes s'engage à prévenir à l'intérieur de ses frontières la formation ou l'action des bandes armées, des associations ou organisations visant au renversement des institutions établies ou à porter atteinte à l'ordre et à la sécurité dans le territoire d'une autre partie contractante.

Art. VIII.— Les hautes parties contractantes ayant déjà reconnu, en vertu du pacte général de la renonciation à la guerre du 27 août 1928, que le règlement et la solution de tous les différends ou conflits, de quelque nature et d'origine pouvant surgir entre elles ne devra jamais être recherchée que par des moyens pacifiques, confirment cette disposition et déclarent se référer aux procédures créées entre les hautes parties contractantes.

Art. IX.— Aucun article du présent traité ne peut être interprété comme diminuant en quoi que ce soit les obligations assumées par chacune des hautes parties contractantes en vertu du pacte de la S. D.N.

Art. X.— Le présent traité, rédigé en français et signé en 4 exemplaires dont chacune des hautes parties contractantes reconnaît avoir reçu un, est conclu pour 5 ans. A l'expiration de ce délai, à moins qu'une des hautes parties contractantes n'ait notifié sa dénonciation avec préavis de six mois, le traité sera considéré comme renouvelé de plein droit pour une nouvelle période de 5 ans. Le traité continue à être en vigueur entre les puissances non-dénonciatrices.

Le présent traité sera rectifié par chacune des hautes parties contractantes conformément à sa législation et enregistré à la S. D. N. par les soins du secrétaire général qui sera prié d'en donner, connaissance aux autres membres de la Société. Les instruments de ratification seront déposés par chacune des hautes parties contractantes auprès du gouvernement iranien.

Le présent traité entrera en vigueur entre deux puissances intéressées aussitôt que ratifié par celles-ci ; il entrera en vigueur en ce qui concerne les puissances intéressées au fur et à mesure du dépôt des instrments de ratification. Chaque dépôt sera immédiatement notifié par le gouvernement de l'Iran à tous les signataires du présent traité.

Fait au palais de Saadabad, le 8 juillet 1937.

Enclosure No. 4 to Despatch No. 299 of July 14, 1937, from the American Embassy at Istanbul, Turkey.

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